Papiamentu is a creole language spoken natively by about 250,000 people, the majority of them in the ABC islands (Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao), some 30,000 in the Netherlands. Dutch is the official language in the islands and most of the population consider themselves polyglots, with some competence also in Dutch, Spanish and English.

The sketch will contain sections on phonology, morphology and syntax of Papiamentu, based in part on intuitions provided by native speakers of Curaçoan and Aruban Papiamentu. Emphasis will be given to those properties of Papiamentu that are most interesting from a typological perspective in the area of morphology. Papiamentu is unusual among creole languages in having a well-developed derivational component, verbal inflection and a morphologically marked passive construction. In the area of phonology, research by the authors has revealed interaction between the tonal accent system of Papiamentu and a limited form of quantity sensitivity. Among its interesting syntactic characteristics which count as a-typical properties of creole languages are a clearly defined class of adjectives, extensive use of complex prepositional phrases, and processes of subject-auxiliary inversion and stylistic inversion of subject and predicate.

LINCOM EUROPA
München - Newcastle

ISBN 3 929075 44 X

Papiamentu

Silvia Kouwenberg

& Eric Murray

***LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD/Materials* 83**
LINCOM EUROPA

Papiamentu

Silvia Kouwenberg & Eric Murray

***LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD/Materials* 83**

1994
LINCOM EUROPA
München - Newcastle

Published by LINCOM EUROPA, München, Newcastle 1994.

All correspondence concerning *LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD/Materials* should be addressed to:

LINCOM EUROPA, P.O. Box 1316, D-85703 Unterschleissheim/München, Germany.

Printed in Kehlheim

Edited by Ulrich J. Lüders

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Kouwenberg, Silvia:
Papiamentu / Silvia Kouwenberg & Eric Murray. - München
[i.e.] Unterschleissheim ; Newcastle : LINCOM Europa, 1994
(Languages of the World : Materials ; 83)
ISBN 3-929075-44-X
NE: Murray, Eric:; Languages of the world / Materials

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Printed on chlorine-free paper

Contents

Abbreviations

Ib	of Iberian etymology
Du	of Dutch etymology
E	of English etymology
Ar	Aruban
Cur	Curaçoan
1Sg	First person singular pronoun
1SgEmph	First person singular emphatic pronoun
2Sg	Second person singular pronoun
2SgEmph	Second person singular emphatic pronoun
3Sg	Third person singular pronoun
3SgEmph	Third person singular emphatic pronoun
3SgPoss	Third person singular possessive pronoun
1Pl	First person plural pronoun
2Pl	Second person plural pronoun
3Pl	Third person plural pronoun
A	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
Asp	Aspect particle
Loc	Locative all-purpose preposition
Mood	Mood particle
N	Noun
NP	Noun Phrase
PassAux	Passive auxiliary
Pl	Plural marker
PP	Prepositional Phrase
Tense	Tense particle
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase

0. Background

Papiamentu is spoken natively by approximately 250,000 people, the majority of them in the Caribbean islands Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, some 30,000 in the Netherlands. Bonaire and Curaçao constitute the Netherlands Antilles together with St.Maarten, Saba, and St.Eustatius in the Lesser Antilles. The Netherlands Antilles and Aruba have been separate entities in the Kingdom of the Netherlands since 1986. Dutch is the official language in the islands, but its use is restricted to the domains of (higher) education and administration by the government, domains which Papiamentu has also moved into. Papiamentu has a long written tradition (see for instance Jeuda 1983 on early newspaper texts, Wood 1972a on the earliest Papiamentu letter, and Maduro 1971 which contains some additional eighteenth century texts). It is used in the electronic media where it competes with Venezuelan Spanish, as radio and t.v. broadcasts from Venezuela have achieved great popularity. In the tourist industry, Papiamentu is used alongside English, Spanish and Dutch. Most of the population consider themselves polyglots, with varying levels of competence in Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish and English.

0.1. The choice of orthography

The orthography of Papiamentu never ceases to provide grounds for contention between Curaçao and Aruba. First of all, the Aruban dialect constrains /u/ to non-final position, and this is painfully obvious in the name of the language: *Papiamentu* for speakers from Curaçao and Bonaire, *Papiamento* for Aruban speakers. Secondly, there have been competing spelling proposals, and whereas Curaçao has adopted a spelling which can be seen as a compromise between phonemic and etymological considerations, Aruba has adopted an etymological, i.e. Spanish-based spelling. Some consequences of these different choices are listed here. In each case the Aruban example is followed by its Curaçoan equivalent.

(1) -Aruban 'c' corresponds to Curaçoan 's' or 'k', as in *cerca / serka* 'near'
-Aruban 'ci' corresponds to Curaçoan 'sh', as in *importancia / importansha* 'importance'
-Papiamentu does not allow voiced obstruents in coda positions, but it is not uncommon to find final 'd, z' in Aruban publications, as in *edad / edat* 'age', *cruz / krus* 'cross'
-Aruban spelling contains the double consonants of Spanish orthography, as in *Antillas / Antías* '(Netherlands) Antilles', *seccion / sekshon* 'section', *interrumpí / interumpí* 'interrupt'
-Aruban *y* 'and' corresponds to Curaçoan *i* 'and'

As a result of these different choices, texts produced in Curaçao and Aruba give very different visual impressions and are virtually worthless for use in formal contexts outside the island in which they are produced. We have adopted the Curaçaon spelling for this description of Papiamentu, except where in chapter 4 examples are quoted from Aruban sources (viz. Todd Dandaré) or Aruban speakers. Sections 1.1-2 contain an explanation of and some comments on the spelling conventions. There are some dialectal differences among the three islands, but the dialects are mutually

intelligible, and the differences between them have been largely ignored in publications.[1] Thus, although we point to differences in phonotactic constraints between the Aruban and Curaçoan dialects, we will not distinguish between vocabulary items that are shared as opposed to island-restricted, or comment on the relative acceptability of word formation processes, or discuss differences in syntax.

Our sources are listed in the bibliography. In addition, we have profited from native-speaker assistance by Roos-Marie Braeken (of Curaçao) and Haime E. Jones (of Aruba), observation by the first author of language use by Arubans and Curaçoans in the Netherlands and of language use in Aruba, and native-speaker assistance provided her by Arubans and Curaçoans in these locations over the years.

0.2. Where does Papiamentu come from?

Papiamentu is a creole language which - like other creole languages of the Caribbean - developed in the early period of European occupation of the islands. In spite of the relatively short history of the Caribbean creole languages, their early history is by and large a matter of subjective interpretation of few hard-and-fast facts. In the case of Papiamentu, disagreement centers on the provenance of the early Iberian vocabulary.

In spite of over a century of Spanish occupation (appr. 1527-1634), the Dutch, who conquered Curaçao in 1634, were the first to take Africans to that island. Most native Americans were forced to leave the island with the Spanish. From the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, Curaçao was a depot for the slave-trading activities of the Dutch West-India Company. Significant numbers of Portuguese-speaking Jews (and non-Jews), presumably accompanied by slaves, arrived after the fall of the Dutch Brazilian empire in 1654.

This brief outline of the early history suggests that the main languages contributing to the formation of Papiamentu ought to have been Dutch and Portuguese. However, in the lexicon of modern Papiamentu, we recognize the predominant influence of Spanish. The earliest "layer" of formation has been covered and obscured by a vast number of words of Spanish etymology and the question of whether that earliest layer was lexified by Portuguese or Spanish is controversial: Goodman (1987) presents considerable historical evidence in favour of an early Portuguese creole, supported by Smith (1987) based on historical phonological evidence and Maurer (1986b) based on an analysis of grammatical tense, but Maduro (1966) argues for Spanish instead. Words of Dutch etymology are far less numerous. Despite its status as the official language of the territories where Papiamentu is spoken (the islands Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao), Dutch is becoming less and less commonly used even in domains that are traditionally reserved for it such as the administration of government and the educational system, a development which testifies to the prestige which Papiamentu is accorded by its speakers. As Wood (1972b) points out, Papiamentu has gained a greater degree of social respect

[1] Moreover, as pointed out for instance by Andersen (1974, 1983), Wood (1972b), social dialects have developed. In particular, there is a hispanized formal register of Papiamentu, distinguishable from the registers used in non-formal contexts.

and universality of use in all social settings than any other Creole in the Caribbean. It is to be expected therefore that Dutch will become less and less significant as a potential source for new words. Last, there is a relatively small but growing number of words of English etymology in particular in the area of technological innovation. In view of the importance of the tourist industry which taps the North American market and brings a large part of the population of the islands in contact with native speakers of Anglo-American, it is to be expected that the number of words of English etymology will continue to grow and expand in other areas.

In order to distinguish between them, we will refer to items of Iberian, Dutch and English etymology as Ib, Du and E, respectively. An Ib/Du/E word should be read to mean: a word of Iberian/Dutch/English etymology. In most cases, an Ib word is of Spanish etymology.

1. Phonology

In the following we will first present the vowel system (1.1) and the consonant system (1.2). In these sections, we will also show how the vowels and consonants are represented orthographically, and discuss phonotactic constraints. In section 1.3 we examine tone and stress assignment, and in 1.4 we briefly consider segmental processes which take place in the syntax.

1.1. The vowel system of Papiamentu

1.1.1. Vowels

Papiamentu has a nine vowel system, with a front unrounded, back rounded, and front rounded series. In addition, the central vowel occurs predictably in unstressed final syllables (see 1.3.3). For each of the vowels, the phonetic representation is given in Table 1, followed by its orthographic representation where this differs.

Table 1. *Vowels*

	front		back
	- round	+ round	
high	i	y (ü)	u
mid	e	ø (ù)	o
	ɛ (è)		ɔ (ò)
low	a		

1.1.2. Diphthongs

Table 2 shows the diphthongs which occur in Papiamentu. The first vocalic element in these diphthongs is syllabic. The second vocalic element is the non-syllabic counterpart of the high vowels /i/ or /u/. The contrast between the mid front and mid back vowels is neutralised in this context.

Table 2. *Diphthongs*

	V2: front	V2: back
V1: front		iu̯ (iu)
	ɛi̯ (ei)	eu̯ (eu)
	øi̯ (ùi)	
V1: back	oi̯ (oi)	ou̯ (ou)
	ui̯ (ui)	
V1: low	ai̯ (ai)	au̯ (au)

1.1.3. The distribution of vowels

Phonotactic constraints are of two kinds: constraints on the distribution of individual vowels, and constraints on the cooccurrence of vowels in words. These constraints are relevant only to words that are not derivable in Papiamentu, i.e. underived words and words with inherited morphology (see 3).

Table 3. *The distribution of mid vowels*

word-medial	word-final /e, è/	word-final /o, ò/	exceptions
/i/	*firme* 'firm'	*dicho* 'proverb'	*filè* 'boneless' (of meat)
/e/	*debe* 'debt'	*eko* 'echo'	
/è/	*prèkè* 'safety-pin'	-	*èrko* 'air-conditioning'
/a/	*dande* 'New Year's song'	*ganso* 'goose'	
/ò/	-	*bòngò* 'large marble'	*nòmbro* 'name'
/o/	*morde* 'bite'	*boto* 'boat'	
/u/	*muhé* 'woman'	*busto* 'bust'	

The front round vowels are the most severely constrained and a reasonable assumption is that they are later developments. They occur in Du and E monosyllabic words, some inherited compounds, and a few other words, and are often in variation with non-round vowels. The high front round vowel occurs only in Du words and is in variation with /i/, as in *hür ~ hir* 'rent', *zür ~ zir* 'sour', *zürkol ~ zirkol* 'sauerkraut', but not *februäri ~ *febriari* 'February'. There is one instance of variation with /u/, viz. *vürpeil ~ vupeilu* 'firework'. The mid front round vowel is in variation with /e/ as in *bùs ~ bes* 'bus', *brùin ~ brein* 'dark (of sugar)', *wendrùif ~ wendreif* 'grape'. We find invariant /ù/ also, e.g. E *djùmp* 'jump', *dòmtrùk* 'dump truck', Du *prùlebak* 'waste-paper basket'.

The Aruban dialect constrains /u/ to non-wordfinal position, and has /o/ wherever the Curaçoan dialect has /u/ wordfinally, as in *Papiamento / Papiamentu*.

Table 3 shows that the higher and lower mid front vowels are partially in complementary distribution: /è/ and /ò/ cannot occur as final vowel unless the same vowel occurs word-medially; the higher mid vowels occur word-finally with any other word-medial vowel. The Aruban dialect has some forms with final /o/ following word-medial /ò/, presumably as a result of the inadmissability of final /u/, e.g. *nòmbro*. Du *filè* and E *èrko* are the only other forms with irregular final /è/ and /o/ which we found. Also, word-medial /u/ does not appear with final /e/ unless this vowel receives stress, as in *muhé* 'woman'.

1.2. The consonant system of Papiamentu

The symbols in Table 4 are those of the International Phonetic Alphabet; orthographic symbols, where different, are given in parentheses. Consonants which have phonemic status are in bold type.

Table 4. *Consonants*

	labial	dental	alveopalatal	palatal	velar	glottal
stops	**p, b**	**t, d**			**g** (g, gu), **k**	
fricatives	**f, v**	**s, z**	ʃ (sh, si), ʒ (zj)		**x** (g)	**h**
affricates			tʲ / tʃ (ch, ti), dʲ / dʒ (dj, di)			
nasals	**m**	**n**		ɲ (ñ, ni)	ŋ (n)	
liquids		**l, r**				
semivowels	w			j (y)		

We will comment below on the orthographic representation of the alveopalatal fricatives and affricates (1.2.3) and the palatal nasal (1.2.2-3), and we will see that they should not be accorded phonemic status as they are more properly described as allophones of the corresponding alveolar fricatives, oral and nasal stops.

The semivowels are distinguished from the high vowels only in syllable initial position, e.g. *yama* 'call', *haya* 'get', *wesu* 'bone', *awa* 'water', where they are assumed to be predictable realisations of /i, u/ in that position.

The velar nasal consonant occurs predictably in pre-velar stop position and word-finally (see 1.2.2); it is not phonemic and not distinguished orthographically.

The orthographic representation of the velar obstruents is as follows: the velar voiced stop is written as 'gu' before a front unrounded vowel, e.g. *sigui* 'follow', *guepi* 'guppy (fish)', and as 'g' elsewhere, e.g. *gordo* 'fat', *hoga* 'drown'. The velar fricative is also represented orthographically as 'g'. It occurs syllable-initially before a front unrounded vowel, e.g. *general* - 'general' and *pagina* 'page', and word-finally, e.g. *lèg* 'lie down, have a nap'.

Some words show alternation between syllable-initial /x/ and /h/ e.g. *gèspo* (Ar.) ~ *hèspu* (Cur.) 'buckle' and between syllable-final /x/ and /k/ e.g. *vlègtu* (Ar.) ~ *flèktu* (Cur.) 'plait, braid'. Also, many words contain invariant /h/ which derives historically from /x/ in the lexifier, e.g. *hoben* 'youngster', *muhé* 'woman'. It is also worth noting that /v/ alternates with /f/ and /b/ in many of its occurrences (but not vice versa). We find v ~ f in Du words such as *vèrnis* ~ *fèrnis* 'varnish' (n), and E words such as *vris* ~ *fris* 'freeze', and v ~ b in Ib words such as *favor* ~ *fabor* 'fabour'. Furthermore, many words contain invariant /f/ or /b/ which derives historically from /v/ in the lexifier, e.g. Du *fis* 'distaste', *fèrt* 'speed', Ib *bebe* 'drink', *bientu* 'wind'. All this points to an earlier stage where Papiamentu lacked the fricatives /v/ and /x/. For those forms which do not show such alternation, e.g. Du *verplestu* 'nurse', E *valf* 'valve', Ib *vigente* 'valid', we would want to assume later adoption. Note that there is no such alternation for /z/. Anderson (1974), Birmingham (1970), Maduro (1966) contain descriptions of the sound changes that obtained in the adaptation of words in Papiamentu, in particular of Ib words.

1.2.2. The distribution of nasal consonants

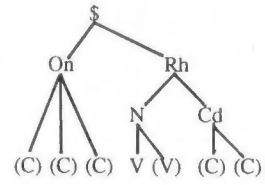
Table 5. *The distribution of nasal consonants*

	word-initial	word-medial, intervocalic	word-medial, pre-consonantal	word-final
bilabial m	midi 'measure'	kama 'bed'	lampi 'lamp'	ròm 'rum'
alveolar n	nada 'nothing'	duna 'give'	lanta 'get up'	hoben 'youngster'
palatal ɲ	ñèñè 'whine'	liña 'line'	-	-
velar ŋ	-	-	ranka 'pull'	bòn 'good'

The distribution of nasal consonants is illustrated in Table 5. The number of words which contain the palatal nasal is very small, particularly in word-initial position. We argue below that [ɲ] is a realisation of a complex onset which contains /n/ and the palatal vowel /i/. Some words which contain the palatal nasal word-medially in Curaçoan Papiamentu have instead a palatal semivowel in the Aruban dialect, e.g. *haña* (Cur) ~ *haya* (Ar) 'get'. Word-finally, the place of articulation of /n/ is predictably velar except in words which end in [ən] such as *hoben*; we argue in 1.3.3 that these contain only a nasal consonant in the rhyme, underlyingly. The contrast which can be observed between *bòn* [bɔn] 'fine'(n) and [bɔŋ] 'good' is due to the adoption of some Dutch loanwords with retention of a final alveolar nasal. Pre-consonantally, the place of articulation of a nasal consonant is predictable from that of the following consonant. All articulations except the bilabial one are represented orthographically as 'n'; this includes the labiodental articulation in *konfia* 'trust'. There is a small number of non-homorganic nasals which, however, show alternation with a homorganic nasal, e.g. *kòmchi* ~ *kònchi* 'bowl'.

1.2.3. Onsets

The cooccurrence constraints between consonants can best be stated with reference to syllable structure. We adopt the hierarchical model represented here. $ is the syllable which consists of an onset (On) and a rhyme (Rh). The rhyme consists of a nucleus (N) and a coda (Cd). The rhyme is constrained to a maximum of three positions.



A single consonant in the onset, whether word-initial or word-medial, can be any of the phonemic consonants in Table 4. Also, the high vowels may appear as onsets. Examples:

- Stops /b/ *bulpes* 'bullwhip', /p/ *paña* 'cloth', /t/ *tene* 'hold', /d/ *danki* 'thanks', /g/ *gal* 'bile', /k/ *kuminsá* 'begin'.
- Fricatives /f/ *falsu* 'mean', /v/ *rival* 'rival', /s/ *suku* 'sugar', /z/ *zoya* 'swing', /x/ *giter* 'watering-can'.
- Nasals /m/ *masal* 'massive, numerous', /n/ *tene* 'hold'.
- Approximants /l/ *limpiá* 'clean', /r/ *ròm* 'rum'.

- Glottal /h/ *kohin* 'cushion'.
- Semivowels /u/ *wega* 'game', /i/ *yabi* 'key'.

A complex onset consisting of CC or CCC can contain any of the combinations listed in Table 6. Some of the combinations are restricted to one or two cases; these are given in parentheses. Thus, to our knowledge, *tualèt* is the only word that contains /tu/ in the onset.

Table 6. *Onset clusters*

C1	C2: liquid	C2: semivowel	C2: other	Examples
p	l, r	i, u		supla 'blow', presta 'lend'
b	l, r	i, u		blas 'balloon', sembra 'sow', biaha 'travel', buèlta 'trip'
t	r	i, (u)		traha 'work', chiste 'joke', tienda 'shop', (tualèt 'toilet')
d	r	i, u		weldro 'weld', djaka 'rat', dies 'ten', duele 'pity'
k	l, r	i, u		klaro 'clear', kièr 'want', kuèrdè 'wind (of clock)'
g	l, r	i, u		glas 'glass', guiambo 'ochroe', guano 'guano'
f	l, r	i, u		fli 'kite', frustia 'rust', fiesta 'party', fuerte 'strong'
v	l, r	(i)		vlègtu 'braid', vruminga 'ant', (Viena 'Vienna')
s	l	i, u	p, t, k, n, m	sla 'dent', shimis 'dress', sierto 'sure', suak 'weak', spera 'expect', skapa 'escape', stima 'love', snechi 'slice', smak 'flavour'
z		i, u		zjeitu 'spirit, energy', anzué 'hook (for fishing)'
m		i, u		miedu 'fear', muebel '(piece of) furniture'
n		i, u		ñetu / nieto 'grandchild', nuebe 'nine'
C1	C2: stop	C3: liquid	C3: semivowel	Examples
s	p	l, r	i	splika 'explain', sprùit 'grow out, shoot', spièrta 'awake'
	t	r		strepi 'line'
	k	l, r	(u)	sklabitut 'slavery', skruf 'screw', (skual 'rebuke')

A number of these clusters are treated by authors such as Römer (1991) and Joubert (1991) as single phonemes, at least in some of their occurrences. These are:

- The fricatives illustrated in *shimis* 'dress', *zjeitu* 'spirit'.
- The affricates illustrated in *chiste* 'joke', *djaka* 'rat'.
- The palatal nasal illustrated in *ñetu* 'grandchild'.

The orthographic representation reflects this, but not consistently: /si/ is 'sh' or 'si' in the orthography, /zi/ is 'zj', /ti/ is 'ch' or 'ti', /di/ is 'dj' or 'di', /ni/ is 'ñ' or 'ni'. Examples of both types of representations are given in Table 6. Phonetically these are [ʃ], [ʒ], [tʲ] ~ [tʃ], [dʲ] ~ [dʒ], and [ɲ] ~ [j̃]. The variation in the orthography between digraphs and sequences of the form 'Ci' has no phonetic basis and can largely be attributed to the etymological source (Spanish). Consider for instance *ñetu* 'grandchild' (Cur. spelling) and *nieto/nieta* 'grandchild (m/f)' (Ar. spelling). We treat

them as predictable realisations of /s/, /z/, /t/, /d/, and /n/ in the environment preceding the front high vowel /i/ in the onset. This also accounts for the fact that they do not cooccur with other consonants in the onset and that their occurrence is restricted to onsets, except for some fairly recently adopted E words ending in [tʃ] or [ʃ] (*pich* [pitʃ] 'peach', *smèsh* [smɛʃ] 'smash').

Not surprisingly, onset clusters containing three consonants contain /s/ in initial position, the following consonant is restricted to any of the voiceless stops, and the third position is fillable by a subset of the sounds which can normally follow a voiceless stop in an onset. The exceptional behaviour of /s/, which may appear in violation of the sonority hierarchy and which may precede an already complex onset, is accounted for by assigning it extrametrical status.

1.2.4. Codas

The coda of the syllable can be filled with at most a CC cluster. The consonants that can appear in the coda are a subset of the phonemic consonants in Table 4: Papiamentu does not allow voiced obstruents and the glottal fricative in the coda. The following are examples of codas which contain a single consonant.

Table 7. *Coda clusters*

C2	C1	Examples
p	r,m	wèrp 'drop young', pòmp 'pump'
t	k,f,s,l,r,n	kontrakt 'contract', kaft '(book) cover', tèst 'test', vèlt 'field', spart 'spatter', karènt '(dried) currant'
k	l,r,n	spalk 'splint', hùrk 'squat', krènk 'crank'
f	(l),r	valf 'valfe', dùrf 'dare'
s	p,k,l,r,m,n	djaweps 'Thursday', buks 'thump', bals 'chewing-gum', mòrs 'spill', dams '(young) lady, stèns 'count (on)'

- Stops /p/ *teip* 'type', /t/ *bèt* 'wager', /k/ *pik* 'beak'.
- Fricatives /f/ *zueif* 'float (in the air)', /s/ *lès* 'lesson'
- Nasals /m/ *bòm* 'bomb', /n/ in a homorganic cluster as in *hòmber* 'man', *konfia* 'trust', *pinta* 'paint', *lenga* 'tongue', /n/ word-finally as in *habon* 'soap'.
- Approximants /l/ *bèl* 'bell', /r/ *liber* 'free'.

Consonant clusters in the coda are much more restricted than those in the onset. The relative ease with which /s/ and /t/ appear as second consonant in a coda and the fact that their occurrence may violate the sonority hierarchy suggests that these are extrametrical. This is further supported by the fact that the only apparent violation of the constraint which limits the rhyme to three units contains final /s/ (*skeins* 'slanting'), and that *stèndert* 'standard (of cars)' receives penultimate stress in spite of the presence of two consonants word-finally, one of which is /t/ (see 1.3.3 on stress in words which end in l,r,n). Consonant clusters in a word-medial coda are restricted to derived words such as *wèrp-mentu* 'throwing', *fèrf-dó* 'painter'. Elstak (1989) lists some examples of metathesis, which result in shift of a historical coda-consonant to the onset position of the same syllable (e.g. *prikichi* vs. *pirkichi* 'parakeet').

1.3. Tone and stress

1.3.1. Tone contrasts

Römer has drawn attention to the existence of tone in Papiamentu (Römer 1977 etc). Papiamentu has two level tones, H (high) and L (low), no contour tones phonologically. For approximately 250 pairs of bisyllabic words of identical segmental shape and stress, pitch is the only clue for the difference in category and meaning (Joubert 1991). The examples in (2) illustrate this (from Römer 1977).

(2) *papa* penultimate stress, HL melody 'porridge'
papa penultimate stress, LH melody 'father'
mata penultimate stress, LH melody 'kill'
mata penultimate stress, HL melody 'plant, tree'
kaska penultimate stress, LH melody 'peel' (v)
kaska penultimate stress, HL melody 'peel' (n)

It is significant that such contrasts cannot be found for monosyllabic, trisyllabic or longer words and that there is usually neither more nor less than one H in a word, which also usually coincides with (main) stress placement except in bisyllabic verbs (such as the first mention of *mata, kaska* above), and in a relatively small number of other words (such as the first mention of *papa* above). Römer accounts for the coincidence of H and stress in the majority of words by postulating an underlying accent mark to which a H - itself part of a tonal melody - is assigned; subsequent processes of spreading, delinking etc. derive the surface patterns. We argue instead that, with few exceptions, the placement of H and main stress in Papiamentu words can be predicted from categorial class membership and syllable weight; schematically:

Table 8. *Tone and stress placement.*

content words				
verbs of more than two syllables		monosyllables	nouns etc. of more than two syllables	
bisyllabic	polysyllabic	n.a.	final syllable heavy	final syllable light
final H, initial stress *kaska* 'peel'	final H and stress *kuminsá* 'begin'	*stòf* 'dust'	final H and stress *falis* 'suitcase'	penultimate H and stress *buraku* 'hole'

To our knowledge, Papiamentu has not previously been recognised as a quantity-sensitive language. One indication of this property is the requirement that the minimal content word is bimoraic, i.e. contains at least two weight units in the rhyme. Some examples of minimal words are *(h)os* 'whirlwind', *gai* 'cock', *mòp* '(floor)mop', *pan* 'bread', *leu* 'far'. This requirement does not hold of closed class items (pronouns, prepositions, markers of tense/aspect/modality, conjunctions). The only monomoraic content words which we have come across are *ba* 'kiss', *fe* 'belief', and *te* 'tea'. Of these, *ba* is motherese (cf. *sunchi* 'kiss') and onomatopeic, and *fe* is an item of religious

vocabulary - a domain which is under continuous pressure from Spanish religious vocabulary. Note that orthographic *yu* 'child' is bimoraic [juw], and that some words have monomoraic allomorphs, e.g. *za ~ zag* 'saw', *sa ~ sabi* 'know', *be ~ bes* 'time', *mo ~ omo* 'uncle'.

Below, we will first consider tone and stress in underived verbs, then in other underived content words, then in derived words. Secondary stress is assigned to alternating syllables; we will not discuss it.

1.3.2. Tone and stress in underived verbs

Treatments of Papiamentu stress have assumed it to follow an Iberian pattern, and the orthography reflects this. Regular stress is thought to be penultimate for words ending in a vowel or l,r,n, final for words ending in another consonant or a diphthong. In words that do not conform to this pattern the placement of stress is marked in the orthography by an acute. This creates an immediate problem for the treatment of verbs: all trisyllabic and longer verbs end in a vowel and have final stress. These are thus treated as an open-ended class of exceptions, although their behaviour is fully predictable. As shown in Table 8, the vast majority of verbs have a H associated with the last - and in monosyllabic verbs, only - syllable; the only exceptions to this are found in the class of bisyllabic verbs. This final H does not necessarily coincide with main stress, as stress assignment in verbs is sensitive to the number of syllables: bisyllabic verbs are exceptionless in having penultimate stress, and thus constitute a class with a consistent pattern of non-cooccurrence of H and stress. The phonetic correlates of stress on the L-toned syllable in these verbs are loudness and (optional) lengthening of the vowel where the stressed syllable is light. In longer verbs, H and main stress cooccur on the final syllable. We either find L on all preceding syllables, or alternating HL; speakers which have the latter pattern realise secondary stress as H. The phonetic correlates of stress in trisyllabic and longer verbs are a combination of loudness and high pitch.

(3)	monosyllabic verbs	bisyllabic verbs	trisyllabic/longer verbs
	dal 'hit'	*kore* 'run'	*kuminsá* 'begin'
	but 'fine'	*boltia* 'turn over'	*abandoná* 'abandon'
	sker 'tear'	*sinti* 'feel'	*risibí* 'receive'
	skòp 'kick'	*kuèrdè* 'wind (a watch etc)'	*aparesé* 'appear'
	zuai 'swing'	*piska* 'fish'	*distribuí* 'distribute'

The following are examples of bisyllabic verbs with penultimate stress and irregular HL (from Dijkhoff 1993: 88, 91); these are all Du or E.

(4) *sunchi* 'kiss', *skeiru* 'brush', *feter* 'lace', *beitel* 'chisel', *wèlder* 'weld', *fretu* 'stuff, gorge (on food)', *fangu* 'catch'

The imperative is homophonous with the uninflected verb for monosyllabic verbs and verbs of more than two syllables, but involves tone shift for bisyllabic verbs: the melody of the imperative is HL; cf. *para* (LH) 'stop' and *para* (HL) 'stop!'. Birmingham (1970: 83) points out that some verbs have

an Ib suppletive imperative, viz. *sea* 'be', as in *sea asina bon di...* [be so good to...] 'be good enough to...' and *tene* 'have', as in *tene kuidou* [have care] 'careful!' (cf. *ta* 'be' and *tin* 'have').

1.3.3. Tone and stress in other underived content words

Regular tone and stress assignment in nouns, adjectives and adverbs is quantity sensitive. If the final syllable is heavy, the word receives final H and stress, if the final syllable is light, penultimate H and stress is assigned. If the rhyme contains at least two weight units, the syllable counts as heavy. Unstressed syllables are assigned default L.

(5)

monosyllabic items	final stress	penultimate stress
bieu 'old'	*koneu* 'rabbit'	*baho* 'under'
stòf 'dust'	*karènt* 'currant'	*lagadishi* 'lizard'
bon 'good'	*falis* 'suitcase'	*kuèrdè* 'spring (of watch)'
roi 'cleft, crevice'	*kurason* 'heart'	*palabrua* 'owl'
but 'fine'	*òmbeskòp* 'insolent'	*buraku* 'hole'

Quite a few words which end in l,r,n have penultimate H and stress, but there is also a significant number, possibly as many, that have final H and stress. That this constitutes another class of apparent rather than real exceptions becomes obvious when one considers the nature of the vowel that precedes the final consonant: where the vowel preceding l,r,n is Schwa (orthographically represented as 'e'), we invariably get penultimate stress, whereas in words with final stress the final syllable can contain any of the Papiamentu vowels but not Schwa. We can maintain the generalisation that Papiamentu stress assignment is weight sensitive if we assume that the rhyme of the final syllable in words such as *òrgel* ['ɔrxəl] contains only a syllabic alveolar sonorant, i.e. a single weight unit. The underlying representation is then /orxl/, and the insertion of the central vowel [ə] a matter of phonetic implementation. Also, a process of reduction noted by M.A. Dijkhoff (1989:22f) which reduces words ending in [..ər] to [..r] in certain contexts finds a straightforward explanation. Note that penultimate stress in *stèndert* 'standard' can be accounted for in the same manner, with the additional assumption that final /t/ is extrametrical (see 1.2.4).

(6)

final stress	penultimate stress
fabor 'favour'	*binager* 'vinegar'
ospital 'hospital'	*òrgel* 'organ'
masapan 'marzipan'	*stèndert* 'standard' (of car)

Genuine exceptions are of the following kinds: (i) words with H and stress on the wrong syllable, i.e. either on a final light syllable, or on an (ante)penultimate syllable where the final syllable is heavy; (ii) words in which the placement of H is irregular. Examples of both types follow in (7) and (8), respectively. According to Römer (1991: 47), some speakers have a (L)HLL melody on words with irregular antepenultimate stress, while others have a (L)HLH melody; secondary stress - which is assigned to alternating syllables - is realised by the latter class of speakers as H.

(7)

irregular final stress	antepenultimate stress	penultimate stress
karnisá 'pickled meat'	*ásido* 'acid'	*difísil* 'difficult'
mashá 'very'	*rápido* 'fast'	*mártir* 'martyr'
muhé 'woman'	*idéntiko* 'identical'	

(8) irregular melody
òrzebar 'poltergeist' (regular final stress with H on all syllables)
mucha 'child' (regular penultimate stress with LH melody)
tambe 'too, also' (regular penultimate stress with LH melody)

1.3.4. Tone and stress in derived content words

Some of Papiamentu non-affixal morphology involves stress shift (see 2.2 and 2.5.1.3-4). The most productive such process is that which forms participles from bisyllabic and longer verbs. In the participle, H and stress coincide on the final syllable. The participle forms of bisyllabic verbs contrast with their uninflected forms in this respect. The participle of longer verbs is homophonous with the uninflected form.

(9)

verb	participle
fada 'tire, wear out'	*fadá* 'tired, weary'
parti 'divide'	*partí* 'divided'
meresé 'deserve'	*meresé* 'deserved'
paketá 'package'	*paketá* 'packaged'

Where affixal morphology is involved, tone and stress assignment treats the derived word as it would an underived word, with the exception of nouns derived through suffixation of the auto-stressed suffix *-dó*, and those derived through suffixation of *-mentu*; the latter retain primary stress on the base. Note however that deverbal adjectives which end in *-bel* have penultimate stress; we assume, as we did for some other words, that the underlying representation of this suffix is /bl/ with only /l/ in the rhyme, and that insertion of [ə] is a matter of phonetic implementation. Where prefixation creates a trisyllabic verb from a bisyllabic base, as in *deshasí*, *rebendé*, the derived verb conforms to the trisyllabic pattern for tone and stress assignment.

(10)

base	affixed form
dera 'bury'	*deramentu* 'burial' (initial stress)
stima 'love'	*stimashon* 'love' (final stress)
distribí 'squander'	*distribidó* 'squanderer' (final stress)
falsu 'mean'	*falsedat* 'meanness' (final stress)
kura 'cure'	*kurabel* 'curable' (penultimate stress)
hasi 'do'	*deshasí* 'undo' (final stress)
bende 'sell'	*rebendé* 'retail' (final stress)

1.3.5. Tone and stress in compounds

Dijkhoff (1993: 154) points out that the formative elements of compounds maintain their own stress pattern and that in many cases, there are no phonetic clues which distinguish a compound such as *siboyo largu* [onion long] 'type of vegetable' from the corresponding syntactic phrase 'long onion'. Below are some of the few cases which she mentions in which stress marks a distinction between the compound form and the syntactic phrase (153). Compound stress is assigned to the right-hand formative.

(11) *rama-koko* [branch-coconut] 'coconut branch'
yerba-bueno [herb-good] 'mentha spicata' (herb)
pega-saya [stick-skirt] 'metzelia aspera' (plant with sticky burrs)
bringa-mosa [fight-young woman] 'jatropha urens' (plant)

1.3.6. Tone and stress in inherited compounds

In the preceding sections, words were discussed which either contained a single H, or several on alternating syllables. There is a class of exceptions in which we find more than one H on adjacent syllables. In the following examples, the boldface syllables are H-toned; dots indicate syllable boundaries (some examples from Römer 1991:37,45).

(12) ***bi.stek*** 'steak'
òn.ze.bar 'poltergeist'
ne.tu.mus.kat 'nutmeg'
dja.sa.*bra* 'Saturday'
te.bla.*chi* 'tray'
fail.kast 'filing cabinet'
har.spèl 'hair clip'
wen.shil 'windshield'
stòf.zùi.*ger* 'vacuum cleaner'
ròl.bè.*ri* 'roller bearing'

What is rather striking about this collection of words is that they are usually compounds in the source language and/or contain at least one formative which occurs also in other Papiamentu combinations (see 2.9.3). We propose therefore that these words are pseudo-compound forms (after a suggestion by Norval Smith p.c.); each of the formatives is independently assigned tone and stress, while compound stress is assigned to the right-hand formative.

1.3.7. Tone and stress in the syntax

Römer (1977, 1991) discusses so-called polarisation phenomena in Papiamentu. This term refers to the tonal behaviour of certain closed class items which are assigned contextually contrasting tone. These are the singular subject pronouns *mi* '1Sg', *bo* '2Sg' and *e* '3Sg', the copula *ta*, the preverbal modal marker *lo*, the prepositions *di* 'of, from', *ku* 'with', *na* 'at', *pa* 'for', and the conjunctions/ complementisers *i* 'and', *olòf* 'or', *pa* 'for', *ku* 'that', *si* 'if'. Below, the polarizing behaviour of the preposition *di* and the copula *ta* are illustrated. Surface high and low tones are marked by lines over

and under the vowel, respectively. The surface tone of polarizing forms contrasts with the immediately following tone (from Römer 1977).

(13) ūn glās di rōm
'A glass of rum.'
ūn glās dī binā̱ger
'A glass of vinegar.'

(14) ē kās ta kāsi klā
'The house is nearly finished.'
ē kās tā mashā grāndi
'The house is very big.'

Polarisation iterates leftwards where the modal marker *lo* and the singular subject pronouns are involved, as illustrated in (15) and (16), but not where any of the other items is involved; these surface with high tone, as illustrated in (17) for copula *ta*.

(15) Andrēs lo tā rabiā
Andres Mood be angry
'Andres will be angry.'

(15)′ Andrēs lō ta dēn kās
Andres mood be in house
'Andres will be in the house.

(16) mi tā salū
1Sg be healthy
'I am healthy.'

(16)′ mī ta bōn
1Sg be good
'I am well.'

(17) ē kās tā di glās
the house be of glass
'The house is (made) of glass.

(17)′ ē kās tā dī betōn
the house be of concrete
'The house is (made) of concrete.'

Many aspects of polarisation are not well understood. For instance, this process is sometimes blocked from applying and may be sensitive to syntactic boundaries, and the tonal behaviour of singular pronouns in other than subject position is not at all clear. These are questions which need further investigation. We may also point to the polarizing behaviour of the final unaccented syllable of nouns with penultimate H and final L; thus, in words such as *saku* 'bag', *diputado* 'alderman', *bòter* 'bottle' the tone of the final syllable is contextually determined, viz. by contrast with the immediately following tone (Römer 1983, 1991).
Other monosyllabic function items, such as the definite and indefinite article *e* and *un*, the preverbal aspect marker *ta*, the conjunction *ma* 'but', the preverbal negator *no*, the prepositions *den* 'in', *sin* 'without', and the plural pronouns *nos* '1Pl', *nan* '3Pl' always surface with high tone. This suggests that H is the default tone assigned in the syntax, whereas we noted earlier that L is the default tone assigned in the lexicon. Longer function words have the expected penultimate H and stress, e.g. *banda* 'side', *enfrente* 'in front', *riba* 'on', with some exceptions, e.g. *aki* 'postposed demonstrative', *boso* '2Pl' (both have regular penultimate stress but LH melody).

Affirmative intonation, in contrast with that of yes-no questions, exhibits downdrift, i.e. a gradual lowering of pitch throughout a phonological phrase. While downdrift also affects negatives and question word questions, the presence of the preverbal negator *no* or a sentence-initial question word has the effect of upstep, i.e. of shifting the pitch register upwards (Römer 1983).

1.4. Segmental processes in the syntax

Bendix (1983) and M.A. Dijkhoff (1989) contain overviews of a class of phenomena which they refer to as "sandhi", a term which covers occurrences of assimilation, dissimilation, and truncation which obtain between syntactic formatives. Some of these we will discuss here.
According to Bendix, the 3Sg pronoun *e* triggers "segment addition rules", i.e. the addition of *l, n,* and *di*. In (18), *e* appears as subject preceding the aspectual marker *a* with *l*-addition, and in a double object sequence with *l*-addition. Other pronouns do not behave in this manner, as shown in (18)′ for 2Sg *bo*. Where *e* appears as complement of a preposition rules of *n*- and *di*-addition obtain, e.g. *kuné* < *ku e* 'with 3Sg', *di dje* < *di e* 'of 3Sg', *ariba dje* < *ariba e* 'on 3Sg' (compare *ku bo, di bo, ariba bo*). Alternatively, one may see *el, né, dje* as suppletive forms which appear in certain syntactic configurations (as subject of a verbal complex which contains the aspectual marker *a* initially, as complement of a verb in a double object construction in which both objects are pronominalised as 3Sg pronouns) or are selected by certain heads (selected by certain prepositions; compare *pé* < *pa e* 'for 3Sg' which shows that *pa* selects the default form). See 3.2.1 for further discussion of cliticisation of pronouns.

(18)	*ela dunéle* < *e-l-a duna-e-l-e*	(18)′ *mi a dunabo e*
	3Sg-Asp give-3Sg-3Sg	1Sg Asp give-2Sg 3Sg
	'She gave him it'	'I gave you it'

We find severe reduction in sequences involving the preposition *di* 'of' and in some sequences of high frequency. Some of the reductions illustrated below are virtually obligatory.

(19)	*un koi kome* < *kos-di kome*	*nadi hasi* < *nada-di hasi*	*e konei* < *e kos-nan-ei*
	one thing-of eat	nothing-of do	the thing-Pl-there
	'something to eat'	'nothing to do'	'those things'
(20)	*fe* < *for di*	*trei* < *tras di*	*mi tei kas* < *mi ta-bai kas*
	from-of	behind-of	1Sg Asp-go house
	'from'	'behind'	'I am going home'

The preverbal negator *no* may be reduced to a syllabic nasal homorganic with a following consonant.

(21)	*...m por*	*...n tiŋ*	*...ŋ ke*
	...not can	...not have	...not want

2. Morphology

2.1. The relevance of etymology

Papiamentu vocabulary is etymologically divided into Iberian and non-Iberian vocabulary. The latter part is mostly of Dutch etymology, but there is also a (growing) number of words of English origin.

The distinction is morphologically interesting for three reasons: (i) most of Papiamentu morphology is of Iberian origin; (ii) we find quite a bit of "frozen", i.e. unproductive morphology in the Iberian vocabulary of Papiamentu which can be related directly to complex etymological forms; (iii) Papiamentu vocabulary seems roughly divided along etymological lines with respect to some of the productive morphology that words may take.
Papiamentu lexicon contains fewer Du than Ib items, and the lists of related items that can be construed for them are generally shorter. Compare, for instance, the lists for Ib *bende* and Du *fèrf*: the latter is somewhat shorter than the former, and we note that some of the forms under *bende* overlap in meaning. We may also point to the somewhat idiosyncratic meaning of *bendementu* while we do not find such idiosyncratic forms under *fèrf*, the absence of an adjectival "-able" form for *fèrf*, and the difference in participle forms. These differences can be explained by (i) the mere fact of Ib predominance in Papiamentu lexicon, which also means that more near-synonyms (cf. *bende-benta-bendementu*) and words with frozen morphology (cf. *benta*) have been inherited from Ib; (ii) the fact that some synchronically productive morphological processes are sensitive to prosodic information (e.g. *-bel* suffixation and participle formation).

(22)	*bende* 'sell' (v)	*fèrf* 'paint' (v)
	bende 'sale' (n)	*fèrf* 'paint' (n)
	benta 'sale' (n)	
	bendementu 'act of selling/sale/transaction/business' (n)	*fèrfmentu* 'act of painting' (n)
	bendedó 'seller/salesperson' (n)	*fèrfdó* 'house-painter' (n)
	bendél/bendí 'sold' (participle/adjective)	*hefèrf* 'painted' (participle/adjective)
	bendibel 'saleable' (adjective)	

After a discussion of Papiamentu inflection (2.2), we will briefly consider reduplication (2.3), then turn to derivational relationships (2.4-2.8). We will conclude with a discussion of phrasal morphology (2.9).

2.2. Inflection

Categories that are typically inflectional cross-linguistically include Case and number for nouns, tense, modal and aspectual distinctions and agreement for verbs. In Papiamentu, agreement finds no overt expression. Case distinctions are primarily marked by word order, but there is the additional fact of encliticisation of object pronouns on the verb, and the selection of the enclitic form *bu* of the second person singular pronoun in the Curaçoan dialect (see 3.2.1). Plural is marked by a phrasal enclitic marker *nan*, homophonous with the third person plural pronoun *nan* (see 3.5.1). Tense, modal and aspectual distinctions are marked by particles which appear in positions preceding the verb (see 3.3.2). There are, however, two aspectual categories which have a morphological expression, viz. participle and gerundive, summarised in Table 9. These we will discuss here. Dijkhoff (1993: 141-8) also argues for an inflectional status of the suffix *-mentu* in certain instances of its use. We adopt the more conservative position that it is a derivational suffix in all of its uses (see 2.5.2.1).

Table 9. *Inflection*

Example	Phonological relation	Inflectional category	Etymology	Restrictions
morde 'bite' / mordé 'bitten'; dividí 'divide' / dividí 'divided'	bisyllabic verbs: stress shift; longer verbs: no change	participle form	Iberian	bisyllabic verbs with HL melody and longer verbs
wèlder 'solder' / hewèlder 'welded'; dal 'hit' / hedal 'hit'	prefixation of he-,e-, di-, or i-	participle form	Dutch	miscellaneous verbs
kana 'walk' / kanando 'walking'; morde 'bite' / mordiendo 'biting'	suffixation of -ndo (+ diphthongisation)	gerundive	Iberian	mostly verbs ending in -a,-e,-i

Participle forms are formed in two distinct ways, following a so-called Iberian and a Dutch pattern. The Iberian pattern applies to polysyllabic verbs which end in one of the Iberian theme vowels *-a, -e, -i*, and conform to the melody/stress pattern for verbs of different lengths; it either involves stress shift (from penultimate in the stem to final stress in the participle of bi-syllabic verbs with a LH melody) or no change at all (in the case of longer verbs which all have final stress). Verbs that end in *-e* undergo optional raising of the final vowel in the participle form, as in *bendé* or *bendí* 'sold'. Among non-Ib verbs are some which conform to the Iberian pattern (e.g. Du *harka*). One Du verb which conforms to all requirements except that it ends in the wrong vowel also submits to the Iberian participle formation (*pupu*). Römer (1991) contains a note on the origin of the Papiamentu past participle.

The Dutch pattern applies to any other verb, and involves prefixation of *he-* (typically Aruban) or *di-* (typically Curaçoan) (or the reduced forms *e-*, *i-*) to the verb. In the class of verbs that conform to the Dutch pattern we find predominantly Du verbs, but also some E verbs (*tren*) and one Ib (*dal*).

(23) Iberian pattern: *morde* 'bite'-*mordé* 'bitten', *dividí* 'divide'-*dividí* 'divided', *harka* 'rake'-*harká* 'raked', *pupu* 'relieve oneself / dirty by excrement'-*pupú* 'dirtied by excrement'

(24) Dutch pattern: *fèrf* 'paint'-*hefèrf* 'painted', *wèlder / wèldro* 'weld'-*hewèlder / hewèldro* 'welded', *tren* 'train'-*hetren* 'trained', *dal* 'hit'-*hedal* 'hit'

There is an optional morphological expression of the gerundive by suffixation of *-ndo*, generally restricted to verbs ending in the vowels *-a, -e, -i* (including *i-* as final segment in a diphthong). There are no restrictions pertaining to the number of syllables or tone melody. Both the suffix and the diphthongisation which is illustrated in the following examples are of Iberian etymology, but Du vowel-final verbs can also take this suffix (e.g. *stofia, zuai*) and it appears that even some consonant-final verbs can take it (e.g. *fèrf*). Some verbs have suppletive gerundives which derive from (irregular) Ib forms (e.g. *siendo* 'being', cf *ta* 'be'; Birmingham 1970: 81). The morphological gerundive is considerably more common in formal registers (see note 1).

(25) *zuai* 'swing'-*zuayendo* 'swinging', *bini* 'come'-*biniendo* 'coming', *sosega* 'rest'-*sosegando* 'resting', *kore* 'run'-*koriendo* 'running', *fèrf* 'paint'-*fèrfiendo* 'painting', *stofia* 'dust'-*stofiando* 'dusting'

2.3. Reduplication

Reduplication may apply to words of any of the major classes, with different semantic ramifications. What follows is based on Maurer (1988) and Dijkhoff (1993), although we do not always follow their classification of the different functions of reduplication. The functions of reduplication range over grammatical and lexical categories. Papiamentu uses reduplication productively for the former rather than the latter. Among the former, we may distinguish an intensifying function which takes words of any lexical category as input, and a distributive function which takes countable nouns and words that refer to amounts (numerals, some nouns and adverbs) as input. Each of these is illustrated below. Reduplications of these kinds have main stress on the left-hand member.

(26) *zeta* 'oil'-*zeta zeta* 'very oily', *kayente* 'hot'-*kayente kayente* 'very hot', *bula* 'jump'-*bula bula* 'jump about all the time', *lat* 'late'-*lat lat* 'very late'

(27) *kabes* 'head'-*kabes kabes* 'head to head', *pia* 'foot'-*pia pia* 'very slowly', *tres* 'three'-*tres tres* 'three by three', *grupo* 'group'-*grupo grupo* 'in groups'

Maurer lists 28 lexicalised reduplicated forms, i.e. forms which can be related to a base but have developed specialised meaning. He points out that the semantic relationships are of two main types: the reduplicated form either refers fairly iconically to a multiple occurrence of the entity described by the simple form, as in (28), or it denotes an object or activity which has the entity or activity described by the simple form as a salient characteristic, as in (29). Some cases which do not fit either category are given in (30). The examples here are taken from both sources. Inputforms are nouns, verbs, adjectives, output forms are nouns, adjectives and adverbs. Lexicalised reduplications assign compound stress (see 1.3.5, 2.9.1) to the right-hand member. While lexicalised reduplications plausibly developed from the productive grammatical uses of reduplication, and it may be possible to coin new words using reduplication, it is obvious that this is not really a productive device.

(28) *pida* 'piece'-*pida pida* '(in) morsels, small pieces', *strepi* 'line, stripe'-*strepi strepi* 'with a striped design' (of cloth), *fini* 'fine' (a)-*fini fini* 'hairy parts of a cactus'

(29) *bleki* 'tin can'-*bleki bleki* 'game (in which a tin can is used)', *mishi* 'touch' (v)-*mishi mishi* 'annoying, insolent', *pega* 'stick' (v)-*pega pega* 'gecko'

(30) *kuchú* 'knife'-*kuchú kuchú* 'sharply opposed to one another's opinion's', *pushi* 'cat'-*pushi pushi* 'quietly, silently', *poko* 'little, few'-*poko poko* 'slow(ly)'

2.4. An overview of the derivational component

The derivational relationships which we will discuss in the following are summarised in Table 10; of these, 5 are non-affixal, 10 suffixal, 3 prefixal. Dijkhoff (1993: 74-80) lists a total of 2 truly productive suffixes, 72 unproductive suffixes, and 12 prefixes. In the latter classes we find affixes ranging from completely intransparent to affixes which are transparent at least in some of their occurrences, to affixes which are well on their way to becoming productive. We will focus on those derivations which are demonstrably productive or seem potentially so. In the latter class we find affixes which display considerable predictability in the phonological and/or semantic relation between a putative base and derived form. In addition to the phonological, semantic and categorial properties of a relation, we will consider its etymological status and its productivity over Ib/non-Ib vocabulary. It is evident from Table 10 that no Du or E morphology is considered here. Although Papiamentu has some inherited Du and E morphology - for instance a Du nominaliser in *posterei* 'postal services' and an E nominaliser in *trener* 'trainer' - it is not productive. We will first examine processes of formation of deverbal nouns as these constitute by far the most interesting and most productive morphology of Papiamentu (2.5). We will then turn to other suffixal morphology (2.6-2.7), and finally we will consider three prefixes (2.8).

2.5. Deverbal nominalisation

We distinguish two morphological types of relationship between verbs and deverbal nouns, which in turn correspond to two classes of semantic relationships: (i) non-affixal morphology: conversion (monosyllabic verbs only), tone contrast (bisyllabic verbs), and stress contrast (bisyllabic and polysyllabic verbs), sometimes combined with final vowel change; the semantic relationship of the noun to the verb is that of a typical instrument, a typical product, etc. (ii) affixal morphology; the relationships are between a verb and an action nominal, abstract result noun, or agent noun.
For many verbs, the verb/noun relation is not limited to one, as illustrated for instance by *stima* 'love' (v)-*stimamentu* '(act of) loving'-*stimashon* 'love' (n), *stoba* 'stew' (v)-*stobá* 'stew' (n)-*stobamentu* '(act of) stewing', *yuda* 'help' (v)-*yudansa* 'help' (n)-*yudamentu* '(act of) helping'.

Table 10. *Derivation*

Example	Phonological relation	Categorial and Semantic relation	Etymology	Productivity
snek 'sob' (v) snek 'sob' (n)	conversion	N=instrument, product, event etc. of V	n.a.	restricted to monosyllabic verbs
bende 'sell' (v) bende 'sale' (n)	tone shift: LH (v) HL (n)	N=instrument, product, event etc. of V	n.a.	restricted to bi-syllabic LH verbs
morde 'bite' (v) mordé 'bite' (n)	stress shift: from penult to final	N=instrument, product, event etc. of V	n.a.	restricted to bi-syllabic LH verbs
abandoná 'desert' (v) abandono 'desertion' (n)	stress shift + vowel alternation	N=instrument, product, event etc. of V	Iberian	not productive and restricted to trisyllabic verbs
kana 'walk' (v) kanamentu 'walking' (n)	suffixation of -mentu	N=(act of) V-ing	Iberian	fully productive
motivá 'motivate' (v) motivashon 'motivation' (n)	suffixation of -shon	N=instance of action or result of V	Iberian	limited product-ivity over vowel-final verbs
gana 'win' (v) ganadó 'winner' (n)	suffixation of -dó	N=subject of V	Iberian	productive
fada 'tire' (v) fadá 'tired' (a)	stress shift	A=adjectival participle of V	n.a.	restricted to bisyllabic LH and longer verbs
kura 'cure' (v) kurabel 'curable' (a)	suffixation of -bel	A=eligible to be V-ed	Iberian	restricted to bisyllabic LH and longer verbs
regular 'regular' regularmente 'regularly'	suffixation of -mente	Adv=A-ly	Iberian	not productive
falsu 'mean' (a) falsedat 'meanness' (n)	suffixation of -dat	N=instance of the quality A	Iberian	one productive application
kunuku 'countryside' (n) kunukero 'countryperson' (n)	suffixation of -era / -ero	N=person associated with N	Iberian	very limited productivity
buki 'book' bukeria 'book shop'	suffixation of -eria	N=business to do with N	Iberian	very limited productivity
M.E.P. (political party) mepista 'member of M.E.P.'	suffixation of -ista	N=practicioner of/ adherent of N	Iberian	very limited productivity
ferbal 'warrant' ferbalisá 'write out a warrant'	suffixation of -isá	V=perform an act related to N	Iberian	very limited productivity
boltia 'turn over' (v) reboltiá 'upset' (v)	prefixation of re-	V=(special instance of) V again	Iberian	limited product-ivity over poly-syllabic verbs
hasi 'do' (v) deshasí 'undo' (v)	prefixation of des-	V=reverse/undo V A/N=opposite of A/N	Iberian	not productive
abitá 'inhabited' (a) inabitá 'uninhabited' (a)	prefixation of in-	A=opposite of A	Iberian	very limited productivity

2.5.1. Non-affixal deverbal nominalisation

Semantically, the non-affixal relationships of conversion, tone shift and stress shift denote four types of verb/noun relationships: (a) verbs which denote an activity which requires an instrument or instrumental product characteristic of that activity are typically found as verb/instrument or instrumental product pairs; (b) verbs which denote an activity which produces a characteristic end-product are found in verb/product pairs; (c) verbs which denote an activity which produces a characteristic event or situation are found in verb/event or situation pairs. In each case, this is the order in which examples will appear. Miscellaneous relationships are listed under (d). One should note that classification is not always straightforward; further research is needed to establish a more satisfactory description of the verb/noun relationships.

2.5.1.1. Conversion

Some monosyllabic verbs have homophonous related nouns. While most of these verbs are Du, we also find some E verbs with related nouns (e.g. *dòm, djèk, klèsh*), none Ib. The number of monosyllabic verbs is small: Joubert (1991) lists approximately 275 monosyllabic verbs. There is a predominance of Du items in this class, whereas Ib verbs are less frequent even than E verbs. As a reminder, the pairs in (a) illustrates verb/instrument or instrumental product pairs, (b) verb/endproduct pairs, (c) verb/event pairs, (d) miscellaneous (some verb/theme pairs).

(31) (a) *bor* 'drill' (v/n), *djèk* 'jack (of car)' (v/n), *flùit* 'whistle'
(b) *dòm* 'dump' / 'rubbish-dump', *zòm* 'hem' (v/n), *ploi* 'fold' (v/n)
(c) *klèsh* 'dispute, clash' (v//n), *krak* 'creak' / 'creak(ing noise)', *snek* 'sob' (v/n)
(d) *blas* 'blow' / 'balloon', *fer* 'spring' (v/n)

Dijkhoff notes that some bisyllabic verbs which do not meet the constraints for tone shift or stress shift as they have a HL melody and in some cases do not end in a vowel (see the following sections), have homophonous related nouns. There are few such verb/noun pairs, most of them in category (a), i.e. verb/instrument pairs, some in (b) and (c), i.e. verb/product and verb/event pairs. The following are her examples (1993: 91,96-7).

(32) (a) *skòmel* 'swing' (v/n), *feter* 'lace'/'shoe-lace', *beitel* 'chisel' (v/n), *chapi* 'weed'/'hoe'
(b) *puiru* 'powder' (v/n)
(c) *keiru* 'stroll' (v/n), *respu* 'belch' (v/n), *sunchi* 'kiss' (v/n)

2.5.1.2. Tone shift

In the list under *bende* in (22) above, a bisyllabic verb *bende* 'sell' with initial stress and a LH tone pattern is paired with a noun *bende* 'sale' with initial stress and a HL tone pattern (see section 1.3. on tone and stress). Joubert (1991: 323-330) lists 251 pairs of bisyllabic vowel-final words which

contrast in precisely this way, phonologically. Of these, all except 37 are verb/noun pairs, but only in about half of the cases is there a clear semantic relation between the verb and noun; these are the cases that we are concerned with here. In addition to the pairs in this list, there are some cases of verb/noun pairs which show a final vowel change as well as tone contrast: the verb ends in *-a*, the noun in *-o* or *-u*. While neither the Iberian languages nor Dutch could have provided a model for the tone contrast, the vowel change in some of these pairs (*gancha, grita, roba* below) is an inherited property of the Ib etyma. There are not many non-Ib verbs which fit the bisyllabic vowel-final template, but some of these can be found as verb/noun pairs (e.g. Du *dueila*), and Du *feila* participates in vowel alternation - for which there is no Dutch model. Dijkhoff (1993: 91) believes that all these pairs result from a process of derivation of verbs from nouns, but the semantic characteristics which this process shares with that of conversion of monosyllabic verbs and stress shift in longer verbs is evidence against this position. Based on the semantic unity of these processes and their complementary distribution over verb/noun pairs of different length, Kouwenberg (in press) argues for a unified treatment.

(33) (a) *dueila* 'mop' (v/n), *peña* 'comb' (v/n), *blancha* 'whitewash' (v/n), *gancha* 'hook, pin'-*gancho* 'hook, pin', *feila / feilu* 'file' (v/n)
(b) *kaska* 'peel' (v/n), *rima* 'rhyme' (v/n), *huma* 'smoke' (v/n), *fura* 'line'-*furu* 'lining'
(c) *roba* 'rob'-*robo* 'robbery', *bende* 'sell/sale', *pousa* 'pause, break' (v/n), *grita-gritu* 'scream' (v-n)
(d) *gagu* 'stutter' / 'stutterer', *rama* 'twine (of plant)' (v) / 'vine' (n)

2.5.1.3. Stress shift in bisyllabic verbs

A few bisyllabic verbs have related nouns homophonous with the Ib participle form. The participle of Ib verbs differs from the base in stress placement (see 2.2). Dijkhoff claims that nouns derived by stress shift have a more specialised meaning than those derived by tone shift (1993: 92), but except for one case that could fit category (a) and some miscellaneous pairs (category d), these nouns refer typically to concrete or abstract results, which concurs with the interpretation of the participle as referring to the completion of an event: categories b and c are by far the most numerous. These nouns then do not derive from the verbal base through stress shift, but rather from the participle through conversion.

(34) (a) *bisti* 'dress, wear (clothes)'-*bistí* 'dress' (n)
(b) *habri* 'open'-*habrí* 'opening' (n), *stoba* 'stew'-*stobá* '(particular type of) stew', *huña* 'scratch'-*huñá* 'scratch' (n)
(c) *bòfta* 'cuff, box'-*bòftá* 'cuff' (n), *hari* 'laugh'-*harí* 'laugh' (n), *bula* 'jump, fly'-*bulá* 'jump, flight' (n), *choka* 'strangle'-*choká* 'strangulation'
(d) *peña* 'comb'-*peñá* 'hairstyle', *piska* 'fish' (v)-*piská* 'fish' (n), *tapa* 'cover, lid'-*tapá* 'portion of food given by one neighbour to another'

In addition, there is a class of cognate object nouns formed in this manner, but with properties which distinguish them from the deverbal nouns discussed so far. Cognate object nouns refer to the state

or event of the verb. Their use is restricted to idiomatic expressions (as in *dal un...*) and emphatic constructions (immediately following the base verb; this construction is also available to intransitive verbs). In contrast, other deverbal nouns are free to occur anywhere. All this suggests that this formation is syntactically motivated, and not a genuine deverbal nominalisation. (36) shows that participles created on the Dutch pattern can also enter such constructions (see 2.2).

(35) *mi ta dal un kaná* *mi a kana un kaná*
1Sg Asp hit one walk 1Sg Asp walk one walk
'I am taking a walk' 'I took quite a walk'

(36) *ela dal-e un hewèlder*
3Sg-Asp hit-3Sg a welding
'S/he did quite a welding job on it.'

2.5.1.4. Stress shift in trisyllabic and longer verbs

Some trisyllabic and longer verbs have related nouns with penultimate or antepenultimate stress. For a number of these pairs, the verb and noun end in a different vowel (*-a* for the verb, *-o* or *-u*, sometimes *-e* or *-i* for the noun). The stress placement in the nouns and the vowel alternation in some forms correspond to the properties of the Iberian etyma, and there is no evidence to suggest that this is a truly productive pattern in Papiamentu. We have found few cases of verb/instrumental product relations, many more of verb/typical product and other relations; quite a few of these display semantic idiosyncracies inherited from the Iberian etyma.

(37) (a) *venená* 'poison'-*venenu* 'poison', *vakuná* 'vaccinate'-*vakuna* 'vaccination'
(b) *fakturá* 'invoice'-*faktura* 'invoice', *kurashá* 'encourage'-*kurashi* 'courage'
(c) *abandoná* 'desert'—*abandono* 'desertion', *praktiká* 'practice'-*práktika* 'practise'

2.5.2. Affixal deverbal nominalisation
2.5.2.1. Deverbal nouns in *-mentu* and *-shon*

The addition of the suffix *-mentu* relates verbs to action nominals. The deverbal noun is interpreted as 'the act of VERB'. A descriptive noun can be related to a verbal base with the addition of the suffix *-shon*. In some cases, such a derived noun denotes a (specialised) instance of the action described by the verb (e.g. *abolishon*), in others it describes an abstract result of such action (e.g. *motivashon*). Some verbs are eligible to both nominalisations (e.g. *stimamentu*, *stimashon*).
Although *-mentu* nominalisation is etymologically Iberian, its application has extended to non-Ib verbs (e.g. Du *kapa*, E *kèch*), in contrast with *-shon* nominalisation. It is productive over verbs with a meaning such that the derivation yields an interpretable result. Thus, stative and modal verbs such *tin* 'have', *desea* 'desire, want', *mag* 'may', are ineligible to this process.
According to Dijkhoff, only around 550 verbs out of 1800 verbs have corresponding nouns which end in *-shon*, and about 140 more are potential candidates for this derivation (1993: 83). There are

no Du or E verbs which take the suffix *-shon*. On the other hand, we find some verb/abstract result noun pairs which are unique to Papiamentu (as for *palabrá*, *move*). This is an indication that the relation is a fairly transparent one and can be extended to other forms; Dijkhoff also regards *-shon* as a prime candidate for nativisation.

(38) *distribí* 'waste'-*distribimentu* '(the act of) wasting', *kapa* 'cut'—*kapmentu* '(the act of) cutting', *kèch* 'catch'—*kèchmentu* '(the act of) catching', *stimamentu* '(the act of) loving'

(39) *motivá* 'motivate'—*motivashon* 'motivation', *stima* 'love'-*stimashon* 'love', *palabrá* 'agree'-*palabrashon* 'agreement', *move* 'move'—*moveshon* 'motion'

Even though there are idiosyncratically different verb/noun pairs in both classes, there are many more for *-shon* derivation. Also, *-mentu* nouns show only semantic irregularities, whereas *-shon* nouns show irregularities both of form and meaning, most of which replicate those of the Iberian etyma. The irregular *-mentu* nouns are descriptive or result nouns; not all of these can be ascribed to an Iberian source (e.g. *mordementu*, *deramentu*). Some irregular examples of both derivations follow. Dijkhoff notes that action nominals which end in *-mentu*, such as those in (38), are defective nouns: they cannot take the plural marker, and take adverbial rather than adjectival modifiers, in contrast with nouns ending in *-shon* and with descriptive nouns which end in *-mentu* (1993: 148).

(40) *konosé* 'know'—*konosementu* 'knowledge', *dera* 'bury'—*deramentu* 'burial', *funda* 'found'-*fundamentu* 'basis, foundation', *morde* 'bite, hurt'-*mordementu* 'pain, ache'

(41) *distruí* 'destruct'—*distrukshon* 'destruction', *dividí* 'divide'—*divishon* 'division (also: of opinion)', *maldishoná* 'curse'-*maldishon* 'curse', *deprimí* 'depress'-*depreshon* 'depression'

2.5.2.2. Agents and other nouns in *-dó*

Although of Iberian origin, the suffix *-dó* productively relates both Ib verbs, Du verbs (e.g. *fèrf*, *yag*) and E verbs (*tren*) to nouns which denote the external argument of the activity described by the verb; although usually an agent, this can also be an experiencer. There are a few cases of *-dó* nouns which do not correspond to any type of subject (e.g. *babadó*; cf. Spanish *babero* 'bib').

(42) agents: *bringa* 'fight'—*bringadó* 'fighter', *distribí* 'squander'—*distribidó* 'squanderer', *fèrf* 'paint'—*fèrfdó* 'painter', *yag* 'hunt'-*yagdó* 'hunter', *tren* 'train-*trendó* 'trainer'

(43) other: *gana* 'win'—*ganadó* 'winner', *risibí* 'receive', *risibidó* 'recipient', *yora* 'cry'-*yoradó* 'cry-baby; 'weeper (at funerals)', *baba* 'dribble'—*babadó* 'bib'

Not surprisingly, there are some Ib cases of frozen morphology involving an ending *-dó*. Some forms in this class display free variation between *-dó* and *-dor*, and there are a few cases where a form in *-dor* has a specialised interpretation while the form in *-dó* does not (see also Dijkhoff 1993: 148-151). Note that Papiamentu has not retained the final /r/ of many etymons or has alternation between forms with and without /r/, resulting in a final light syllable which has retained main stress, e.g. *kaló ~ kalor* 'heat', *muhé* 'woman', etc.

(44) *denominá* 'mention'-*denominadó* 'denominator' (of fraction), *konosé* 'know'-*konosedól konosedor* 'well-informed person', *kome* 'eat'-*komedor* 'dining-room' (cf. *komedó* 'eater')

2.6. Derived adjectives

2.6.1. Adjectival participles

Participles can be used also as adjectives, with an interpretation which, in the vast majority of cases, follows predictably from that of the verb. This holds for participles formed on the Iberian as well as the Dutch pattern (see 2.2 on inflection and 2.5.1.3 on stress shift in bisyllabic verbs).

(45) *fada* 'tire, get fed up'-*fadá* 'tired, fed up', *harká* 'rake'-*harká* 'raked', *tribi* 'dare'-*tribí* 'daring', *kontaminá* 'contaminate(d)', *fris* 'freeze'-*hefris* 'frozen', *blas* 'blow'-*heblas* 'blown'

This formation of adjectives is fully productive over the class of verbs with this proviso that blocking may ensue from the existence of another corresponding adjective where this adjective is either homophonous with the participle (e.g. *famá*), or its meaning is identical to that which the adjectival participle would have. Below are some such examples. Where the adjectival participle contrasts with another corresponding adjective, the participle form usually has a resultative interpretation whereas the other form does not presuppose a process, e.g. *hancha* 'widen' (v)-*hanchá* 'widened' (participle)-*hanchu* 'wide'.

(46) *fama* 'slander'-*famá* 'famous', *harmonisá* 'harmonise'-*harmonioso* 'harmonious', *eksistí* 'exist'-*eksistente* 'existing', *stinki* 'stink'-*stinki* 'stinking, smelly'

2.6.2. Deverbal adjectives in *-bel*

Papiamentu has a number of deverbal adjectives in *-bel*; they roughly denote eligibility to undergo the action described by the verb. Most of these adjectives have a phonologically (e.g. *faborabel*) or semantically (e.g. *notabel*) unpredictable relationship with the base verb, or do not relate to a base verb (e.g. *sensibel*); all of this points to the frozen character of this Ib morphology. In spite of this, however, it appears to be possible to extend this pattern to Du verbs of an appropriate phonological format (i.e. conforming to the regular format discussed in 1.3.2; e.g. *harka, stofia*; note however that speakers differ in opinion on the acceptability of these forms). Note that main stress in these adjectives is on the penultimate syllable; we postulated an underlying representation which contains only syllabic /l/ in the rhyme to account for this stress pattern (see 1.3.3).

(47) *kura* 'cure'-*kurabel* 'curable', *kontestá* 'anwer'-*kontestabel* 'can be answered', *faboresé* 'favour'-*faborabel* 'favorable' (cf *fabor* 'favour'), *nota* 'notice'-*notabel* 'notable, remarkable', *sensibel* 'sensitive', *harka* 'rake'-*%harkabel* 'rakeable', *stofia* 'dust'-*%stofiabel* 'dustable'

2.7. Other suffixal morphology

Not only is the suffix *-mente*, which relates adverbs to adjectives, of Iberian etymology, we also find the idiosyncratic properties of the etymological source reflected in Papiamentu. Thus, we find inherited semantic idiosyncracies (*igual* 'equal'-*igualmente* 'likewise'), many cases where "subtraction" of the suffix yields a form which ends with the vowel *-a* where the related adjective in Papiamentu ends with *-o* as an artefact of the Iberian derivation which takes a feminine form as input (*kontinuo* 'continuous'-*kontinuamente* 'continuously'), and cases where Papiamentu has inherited an adverb, but not the corresponding adjective (*moralmente* 'moral', cf. *moral* 'morality'). Note that many adjectives function also as adverbs and do not accept suffixation of *-mente*, e.g. *bon* 'good'/'well', *malu* 'bad(ly)', *duro* 'hard, loud(ly)'.

The suffix *-dat* relates nouns to adjectives which describe an instance of the quality denoted by the adjective, e.g. *igual* 'equal, the same'—*igualdat* 'equality'. In most cases, "subtraction" of *-dat* from the noun yields a form different from that of the adjective; differences can be seen in the quality of the final vowel of the adjective (e.g. *falsu* 'mean'-*falsedat* 'meanness'), or in the addition of a vowel to the base before suffixation (e.g. *ábil* 'skillful'-*abilidat* 'skillfulness'). Also, the semantic relationship is not always fully predictable (e.g. *antiguo* 'ancient'-*antigwedat* 'antiquity'). These are inherited properties of the Iberian etyma, evidencing the largely frozen character of this adjective/ noun relationship. We have also come across an instance of a Du adjective paired with a deadjectival noun pair, viz. *skars* 'scarce'-*skarsedat* 'scarcity', but attempts to create other such pairs met with rejection (e.g. *zür* 'acid'-**zürdat* 'acidity').

Papiamentu has extended an Ib derivational process by suffixation of *-eral-ero* to bases which cannot be related to Iberian cognates; it roughly denotes 'person associated with'. We have come across *kunukero* 'countryperson' and *rinkonera/o* 'inhabitant of Rincon (f/m)' (cf. *kunuku* 'countryside', Rincon is a village in Bonaire). Dijkhoff (1993: 84) also mentions the hybrid forms *blekero* 'smith', *shapero* 'bar tender' (cf. Du *bleki* 'tin, tin can', E *shap* 'bar').

Her research has also turned up new hybrid forms which contain the suffix *-eria*, viz. *bukeria* 'book shop', *fekseria* 'shoe-repair shop' (cf. Du *buki* 'book', E *feks* 'repair'; Dijkhoff 1993: 85).

The pattern exemplified by Ib words such as *futbolista* 'football player', *wèlguista* 'striker', *telefonista* 'telephone operator' has been extended to a few Du occupational nouns which end with *-ist* or *-iste* (phonetically [ɪst] and [ɪstə]) in Dutch, e.g. *notulista* 'person appointed to take down the minutes', *stenotipista* 'shorthand typist'; for none of these is there an identifiable base in Papiamentu. Dijkhoff also notes its extension to designate membership of an organisation, as in *mepista* 'member of M.E.P.', *manista* 'member of M.A.N.' (1993: 85).

There are a number of verbs of three or more syllables which end in *-isá*, many of which can be related to a noun, e.g. *varnis* 'varnish' (n)-*varnisá* 'varnish' (v). We can identify a lot of evidence for frozen morphology: the semantic relationship varies from one pair to the next, the noun does not

always correspond to the verb minus the suffix, the verb does not always have a corresponding noun (e.g. *ekonomia* 'economy'-*ekonomisá* 'economise', *vandalista* 'vandal'-*vandalisá* 'vandalise', *organisashon* 'organisation'-*organisá* 'organise', *galvanisá* 'galvanise'). On the other hand, there are some such verbs which do not have an Iberian cognate; these have been formed from Du nouns which end in "-iseren" (phonetically [-isərə/-izerə] in Dutch e.g. *fèrbal* 'warrant' *fèrbalisá* 'write out a warrant', *antiano* 'Antillean'-*antianisá* antillianise').

2.8. Prefixation

Dijkhoff (1993: 86-87) contains a list of 13 unproductive prefixes of which we will briefly discuss three: *re-*, *des-*, and *in-*; we refer the reader to her work for a complete listing. The selected prefixes are relatively transparent; also we have found instances of two of these without an Ib cognate.
There is a sizeable number of verbs which begin with *re-* and can be related to verbs without this prefix. Semantically, the prefixed forms denote not so much a repetition of the activity, as a special instance of such repeated activity. Note the stress shift in the case of bisyllabic verbs such as *bende*, *boltia*, which, when prefixed, receive final stress as is typical of trisyllabic verbs. Some of the forms do not have an Iberian cognate (*reeditá*, *reboltiá*), suggesting some - limited - productivity.

(48) *bende* 'sell'-*rebendé* 're-sale, retail', *animá* 'stimulate, encourage'-*reanimá* 'resuscitate', *boltia* 'turn over'-*reboltiá* 'upset, overthrow, mess up', *editá* 'edit, publish'-*reeditá* 'reprint'

For some verbs, adjectives and nouns beginning with *des-* we can establish a base without it. Again, prefixation to a bisyllabic verb yields a trisyllabic verb with final stress. Verbs beginning with *des-* denote the reversing or undoing of the process described by the base, adjectives/nouns denote the opposite of the base. There is no evidence that this pattern can be extended to non-Iberian words.

(49) verbs: *hasi* 'do'-*deshasí* 'undo', *aparesé* 'appear'-*desaparesé* 'disappear', *kansa* 'tire'-*deskansá* 'rest'
adjectives: *honesto* 'honest'-*deshonesto* 'dishonest', *empleá* 'employed'-*desempleá* 'jobless'
nouns: *órden* 'order'-*desórden* 'chaos', *akuerdo* 'agreement'-*desakuerdo* 'disagreement'

About half of the class of items beginning with *in-* or - somewhat less usual - *im-*, *il-* or *ir-* consists of adjectives, nouns and adverbs for which we can establish a base without the prefix, while the remaining are intransparent. Also, we can assign a consistent interpretation to the prefix, that of denoting an opposite. Although the vast majority of these forms can be assigned an Iberian etymology, some do not have a cognate in Iberian (e.g. *inabitá*, *inétiko*) and some adjectives appear to derive from an Iberian participle form with loss of the final *-do* of the Iberian participle (e.g. *indefiní*). The forms of the prefix *im-*, *il-* and *ir-* are selected depending on the initial consonant of the base, and in this respect too, the Papiamentu forms follow their etyma. We encountered only one verb with this prefix (*imbalidá* 'invalidate'), and no non-Ib forms.

(50) *(h)abitá* 'inhabited'-*in(h)abitá* 'uninhabited'-*in(h)abitabel* 'uninhabitable', *étiko* 'moral, ethical'-*inétiko* 'immoral, unethical', *personal* 'personal'-*impersonal* 'impersonal', *definí* 'defined'-*indefiní* 'undefined, indefinite'-*indefinidamente* 'indefinitely', *sigur* 'sure, certain'-*insigur* 'uncertain'-*insiguridat* 'uncertainty'

2.9. Compounds and phrasal morphology

Below, we will consider modifier-noun compounding, noun-modifier compounding, and some other, minor types of compounding in 2.9.1. This is followed by a discussion of a process of word formation which makes use of the genitive construction to form so-called phrasal compounds (2.9.2). Note that our terminology differs from that of Dijkhoff, who refers to the latter class of compounds as composite nouns in Dijkhoff (1987), as lexicalised phrases in Dijkhoff (1993). We will, finally, look at inherited compounds. Although the latter cannot be said to have resulted from productive processes of word formation in Papiamentu, many of them are at least partially compositional (2.9.3).

2.9.1. Compounds

In all of the classes listed below, compound stress is assigned to the rightmost member of the compound. Examples are drawn mostly from Joubert (1991), Dijkhoff (1993), and a cookery-book which was consulted for some compounded culinary terms. The reader is referred to Dijkhoff (1993) for more data and in-depth discussion of Papiamentu compounding. She notes that compounding is not very productive, that most recently coined compounds are of the form noun-modifier, and that the rules forming exocentric compounds are generally inactive.
Papiamentu has some modifier-noun compounds, but they are not as numerous as noun-modifier compounds and phrasal compounds. The left-hand member in modifier-noun compounds is usually a noun, as in (51), but Dijkhoff (1993: 153) mentions some cases where the left-hand member is a preposition, as in (52); dashes have been inserted for convenience. Modifier-noun compounds range from fully transparent to more specialised cases, but we have come across no truly intransparent cases. Orthographically they are treated as single words and they behave as such syntactically: the members of the compound cannot be independently pluralised or modified by an adjective or quantifier. We have seen no cases of modifier-noun compounds in which any of the members are derived forms.

(51) *dòm-trùk* 'dump truck', *fail-kast* 'filing cabinet', *radio-novela* [radio-novel] 'radio play'
(52) *tras-kuartu* [behind-room] 'backroom', *kontra-tempu* [against-time] 'adversity'

Transparent noun-modifier compounds cannot be distinguished from a syntactic construction except by stress placement: in the corresponding syntactic construction, each member is individually stressed. The modifier is an adjective (*bruá* etc.), less frequently a noun (*buskuchi* etc.) or adverb (*patras*, Dijkhoff 1993: 155). This type of compounding can take derived input (e.g. participial

adjectives such as *bruá*, derived nouns such as *yagdó*), and the plural marker *nan* may either follow the head noun or follow the compound, although Dijkhoff notes a preference for the latter. Thus, *basora nan chikitu* and *basora chikitu nan* are possible plurals of *basora chikitu*. The orthographic representation of these compounds respects the syntactic independence of the formatives.

(53) *aros bruá* [rice mixed] '(type of) rice dish', *basora chikitu* [broom small] 'brush', *parada grandi* [parade big] '(main) carnival parade', *pan dushi* [bread sweet] '(type of) raisin bread'
(54) *pan buskuchi* [bread biscuit] '(type of) bread', *piská yagdó* [fish hunter] 'predatory fish', *ruman hòmber / muhé* [sibling man/woman] 'brother / sister'
(55) *stul patras* [chair behind] 'back-seat'

In the examples listed so far, the "is a" test yields the right-hand member in modifier-noun compounds, the left-hand member in noun-modifier compounds. Thus, *dòmtrùk* "is a" *trùk*, *pan buskuchi* "is a" *pan*. Papiamentu vocabulary also contains quite a few less transparent noun-modifier compounds, as in (56); for these, the "is a" test does not yield a straightforward result, but it is possible to identify the left member as the syntactic head. Note that the option of attaching the plural marker *nan* to the syntactic head rather than to the compound is not available for intransparent compounds; thus *bachi pretu nan* / **bachi nan pretu*. In addition, there are a number of exocentric compounds which cannot be said to have an identifiable head, either semantically or syntactically. (57) contains examples of verb-verb, verb-noun and some other compounds. They are invariably written as a single word, and treated as such syntactically. In some verb-noun compounds, the noun member can be said to be an argument of the verb member (e.g. *gai* is a Patient of *dera*). Only in some cases is the order the same as that which we would find in the syntax.

(56) *bachi pretu* [coat black] 'coereba flaveola (bird)', *basora korá* [broom red] 'Melochia tomentosa' (plant), *palo-friu* [stick-cold] 'icicle', *baka-duro* [cow-hard] '(type of) beetle'
(57) *dal-pega* [hit-stick] 'mentzelia aspera' (plant), *dera-gai* [bury-cock] 'popular amusement involving burying a cock', *tapa-solo* [cover-sun] 'awning', *shen-pia* [100-foot] 'centipede'

In addition, there are complex adjectives which consist of an adjective premodified by an adverb, complex numerals - these are the numerals from 11 upwards except for the tens - and numeral-noun compounds which denote units of currency.

(58) *bon-bistí* 'well-dressed', *mal-kriá* [badly-brought up] 'spoilt', *diesinku* < *dies-sinku* [ten-five] 'fifteen', *doshen* < *dos-shen* 'two hundred', *treyotin* < *tres yotin* [three-50 cents] 'a value of 1.50 guilder', *dòs-plaka* [two-2½ cent] '5 cent piece'

2.9.2. Phrasal compounds

The genitive construction consists of the following formatives: NOUN (or other head) *di* MODIFIER. It is used to denote a possessed-possessor relationship (*kas di Goya ku Stèfi* 'Gloria and Stephany's house'), a partitive (*hopi di nan* 'many of them'), a source relationship (*hende di Modanza* 'person from Modanza'), a part-whole relationship (*kabes di seru* 'hill top' lit. head of hill), or to denote a 'type of..' relationship (*kapdó di palu* 'woodcutter' lit. cutter of wood). Dijkhoff (1987) draws attention to the fact that more specialised, compound-like meaning may be associated with this construction, as illustrated in (59). Dijkhoff (1993) contains a lengthy discussion of this phenomenon, and most examples below are drawn from this source. It constitutes the most productive word formation process of Papiamentu, and lexicalisation may occur for any of the uses noted above. As we will see below, ambiguity between a literal and non-literal interpretation corresponds to different treatment in the syntax.

(59) *glas di biña* 'glass of wine' / 'wine-glass'
fèrfdó di boto 'painter of boats, boat-painter' / 'arenaria interpres' (bird)

For the following phrases no literal interpretation is available. Note that the left-hand member of these phrases may be a derived word, and the right-hand member may be a compound or a conjoined phrase. Semantically, the phrases range from fairly transparent to fully intransparent.

(60) *muhé di piská* [woman of fish] '(female) fish-monger'
ju'i korsou [child of Curaçao] 'Curaçoan'
bela di ocho ora [candle of eight hours] 'type of candle'
matamentu di karni [kill-ing of flesh] 'anaestesia'
porta di saya ku djèki [door of skirt and blouse] 'door which consists of two parts which can be opened separately'

Bendix (1983) discusses reduction of *di* to *i* (see 1.4) and indicates that such reduction in phrasal compounds may prompt a non-literal interpretation, where available (1983: 122). Dijkhoff points out that reduction is often obligatory in unambiguously lexicalised phrases (e.g. *ju'i korsou*), or where the lexicalised interpretation of an ambiguous phrase is to be obtained (1993: 171-3).

(61) *kabes di boto* [head of boat] 'bow of boat' *kabei boto* 'lift'
banda di abou / band'i abou [side of down] 'bottom' *Bandabou* 'West part of Curaçao'

Phrasal compounds are distinguished from the corresponding syntactic phrases by the fact that the right-hand member cannot be modified. Thus, the presence of pre-modifiers in the following examples makes it impossible to obtain the lexicalised meaning where the phrase is ambiguous, or is just disallowed where no literal interpretation is available.

(62) *bentana di e dak* [window of the roof] 'window of the roof' *bentana di dak* 'loft-window'
**doló di mi kabes* [pain of my head] *doló (d)i kabes* 'head-ache'

On the other hand, modification of the left-hand member - which constitutes the head of the phrase - is often possible with retention of the lexicalised interpretation. Thus, both readings (independent modification of the head noun and modification of the lexicalised phrase) are available for *glas di biña* below. Note however that a high level of semantic cohesion appears to make such modification

unacceptable, as shown again for *doló di kabes*, for which only postmodification is acceptable (as in (64)). This also obtains for pluralisation: marking of plural on the head noun becomes less acceptable with higher levels of semantic cohesion.

(63) *un glas grandi di biña* [one glass big of wine] 'a large glass of wine' or 'a large wine-glass'
glas nan di biña / glas di biña nan [glass Pl of wine / glass of wine Pl] 'glasses of wine' or 'wine-glasses'
**un doló malu di kabes* [one pain bad of head] 'a bad head-ache'
kam'i pushi nan / ?kama nan di pushi [bed-of cat Pl / bed Pl of cat] 'sleeping mats'

Last, we may note with Dijkhoff that postmodification may result in ambiguity between readings in which the postmodifier modifies the phrase or just the right-hand member.

(64) *un glas di biña grandi* [one glass of wine big] 'a large wine-glass'
un doló di kabes mashá malu [one pain of head very bad] 'a very bad head-ache'
sòpi di piská fresku [soup of fish fresh] 'fresh fish-soup' or 'soup of fresh fish'

Another, less productive, type of lexicalised construction discussed in Dijkhoff (1993) consists of a noun followed by the preposition *di* and a verbal complement. The examples below show that the verbal complement which follows *di* may contain a verb and its internal arguments.

(65) *awa di yobe* [water of rain] 'rainwater'
baki di laba tayó [bowl of wash dish] 'kitchen-sink'
kama di habri abou [bed of open down] 'sleeping-mat'

2.9.3. Inherited compounds

Papiamentu has inherited quite a number of compound forms from Dutch and to a lesser extent from Iberian (in particular in religious vocabulary), and English (in the areas of car mechanics and technological innovations). Some inherited compounds, such as Du *konoskat* 'button hole', E *stròbèri* 'strawberry', Sp *kapia ardiente* 'funeral chamber' are intransparent, but there are also many such compounds which are partially transparent, as they contain formatives that occur elsewhere, independently or in other compounds. Below, we first list some examples which contain at least one formative which is also encountered independently, then some examples which contain at least one formative which is also used in other inherited compounds. Note that inherited compounds, even when fully intransparent, need to be distinguished from monomorphemic words to account for tone and stress assignment (see 1.3.6).

(66) Du *sòlderbout* 'welding iron' (*sòlder* 'weld'), Du *teblachi* '(serving) tray' (*te* 'tea'), E *faiberglas* 'fiberglas' (*glas* 'glass'), Ib *bièrnèsantu* 'Holy Friday' (*djabièrnè* 'Friday', *santu* 'holy')

(67) Du *prùlebak* 'waste-paper basket'-*rembak* '(rain) water cistern'-*spiubak* 'spittoon' (cf. *baki* 'tank, bin'), Du *kiskeif* 'dial'-*kiston* 'dialling tone' (cf. *drei* 'dial'), E *krènkes* 'crankcase', *krènkshaft* 'crankshaft', Ib *antibiótiko* 'antibiotics'-*antikonsepshon* 'anticonception'

3. Syntax[2]

3.1. Word order

Agreement finds no overt expression in Papiamentu. Nor are case distinctions morphologically marked. The order of constituents reflects the syntactic relations. It is strictly SVO, and indirect objects precede direct objects, as in (68)-(69). The order of constituents does not alter with pronominalization, as in (69). Dashes indicate encliticisation of the object pronoun; this will be the subject of discussion in 3.2.1.

(68) *Manda mi ruman bo number di telefon.*
send 1Sg sibling 2Sg number of telephone
'Send my sister your phone number.'

(69) *manda-mi e.*
send-1Sg 3Sg
'Send me it.'

Papiamentu has adopted a few Du verb-particle combinations. These typically appear separated by the object of the verb, as shown in (70). This is quite a-typical of Papiamentu verb-preposition sequences. Their use is, however, fairly marginal; thus, *yama* 'call' is more commonly used than *bèl..òp*, and the existence of these constructions should not be taken as evidence of a verb-final tendency (as is assumed for their Dutch cognates; see for instance Koster 1975). In the sections below we will discuss foregrounding strategies, which affect the order of constituents in sentences (question formation in 3.1.1, focus in 3.1.2, and passivisation in 3.1.3).

(70) *Lo mi bèl bo òp.*
Mood 1Sg call 2Sg up
'I will call you (on the phone).'

3.1.1. Question formation

The formation of yes/no questions involves no change in word order. Any affirmative can be made into an interrogative by its realisation with an appropriate intonation: no downdrift (see 1.3.7) and rising pitch on the final syllable. The formation of question word questions involves the preposing of a question word, optionally introduced by the copula/focus marker *ta* (see also Muysken 1977).

[2] With the exception of some sentences taken from published sources, which are acknowledged in the text, most of the sentences in this chapter were supplied by native speakers of the Aruban and Curaçoan dialects of Papiamentu. We wish to acknowledge in particular the help of Haime Jones and Franklin Benito.

(71) shows that question formation may involve a long-distance relation between a question word and its extraction site. (72) shows that question formation, here with a questioned adverbial may involve preposing of a PP which contains a question word. Stranding of a preposition is also possible, but restricted to questioned NPs (with resumptive pronouns; see below).

Table 11. *Question words*

ken, kende	who
kiko, ki	what
kon	how
kua, kual	which (pronominal)
kua, kual, ki	which (adjectival)
unda	where
ki ora	when / what time (lit. which hour)
ki dia	when / which day (lit. which day)
ki tempu	when (lit. which time)
na unda	where (lit. at where)
pa unda	which way (lit. for where)
pa kiko	why / what for (lit. for what)
di kon	why / how come (lit. of how)

(71) *Ki dia bo ta kere bo ta haya bo outo bèk?*
which day 2Sg Asp believe 2Sg Asp get 2Sg car back
'When do you think you are getting your car back?'

(72) *Ta te na unda e bùs aki ta bai?*
be until to where the bus this Asp go
'How far does this bus go?' (Todd Dandaré 1978)

3.1.2. Focus

NPs, PPs, adverbials, adjective phrases and verbs can appear in focus, i.e. in the initial position, optionally preceded by the copula/focus marker *ta* (Muysken 1977). The examples below illustrate focus of an object NP in (73), an adverbial phrase in (74), a verb in (75). Verb focus is known in the creole literature as predicate cleft. It consistently differs from focus of other types of constituents in that the element which appears in focus is a lexical head, not a phrase, cannot be accompanied by particles or complements, and in that a copy of it appears in the clause.

(73) *Ta mi brel so bo por wak un tiki.*
be 1Sg glasses only 2Sg can see a little
'Only my glasses you can see a little (in the picture).'

(74) *M'a bisa awor si mi ta bai skirbi-bo*
1Sg-Asp say now yes 1Sg Asp go write-2Sg
'...I said, NOW I'll write her.'

(75) *Ta pòst mi no a pòst e karta.*
be mail 1Sg not Asp mail the letter
'It's just that I hadn't mailed the letter.'

Dijkhoff (1983b, 1989, 1993) draws attention to the appearance of resumptive pronouns where the NP complement of a preposition is focussed. The following examples illustrate focus with pied-piping of the preposition in (76), and focus with stranding of the preposition in (76)′ (from Dijkhoff 1993:17-18). In (76)′, a resumptive 3Sg pronoun *né* appears. The resumptive pronoun is insensitive to person/number distinctions. Thus, extraction of a 1Sg pronoun in (77) also results in the

appearance of a 3Sg resumptive pronoun. We have found, however, that some speakers consider the resumptive pronoun optional, and may even prefer not to use it, in particular where the focussed NP disagrees for person/number with the 3Sg pronoun.

(76) *(Ta) ku Wito ela papia awe.*
(be) with W. 3Sg-Asp talk today
'It's to Wito that he talked today.'

(76)′ *(Ta) Wito e ke papia kuné awe.*
(be) W. 3Sg want talk with-3Sg today
'It's Wito he wants to talk to today.'

(77) *(Ta) ami e ke papia kuné / ku.*
(be) 1SgEmph 3Sg want talk with-3Sg / with
'It's ME he wants to talk to.'

The focus marker is homophonous with the copula *ta*, and therefore translated as 'be'. However, Römer (1977) mentions a difference between focus marker *ta* and copula *ta* in tonal behaviour: whereas copula *ta* receives a contextually determined tone (see 1.3.7), focus *ta* always carries L. We may also mention the fact that the anterior form of the copula (*tabata*, see 3.3.2) cannot be used as focus marker. In other respects, focus *ta* behaves like the copula: (78) shows that it can be preceded by the negator *no*, and (79) that it can be preceded by the modality marker *lo*.

(78) *No ta tur ora ta drùk.*
not be all hour be busy
'It isn't always busy.'

(79) *Lo ta hopi kansá e ta.*
Mood be very tired 3Sg be
'S/he is probably very tired.' (lit. (it) will be very tired (that) s/he is)

3.1.3. Passive

Papiamentu is unique among Caribbean creoles in having a passive construction similar to that found in the European lexifiers, i.e. one in which the agent is optionally realised in a PP (introduced by *dor di* (all dialects) or *pa* (Curaçoan and somewhat archaic)), a passive auxiliary appears (*wordu* or *ser*, in free variation), and the verb appears in the passive participle form (see 2.2). Passives with the auxiliary *wordu* (Ar *wordo*) are illustrated in (80)-(81), the latter a progressive, *ser* in (82). (80) contains a realisation of the agent in a *dor di*-phrase.

(80) *E pòtrèt aki a wordo saká dor di e mucha hòmber ku mi ta duna lès merdia nan.*
the picture this Asp PassAux taken by of the child male that 1Sg Asp give lesson midday Pl
'This picture was taken by the boy whom I teach middays.'

(81) *E hènter operashon ta wordo ehekutá for di kas di Eric.*
the whole operation Asp PassAux executed from of house of Eric.
'The whole business is carried out out of Eric's house.'

(82) *Na mei e projekto a ser entregá.*
Loc May the project Asp PassAux hand_in
'In May the project was handed in.'

3.2. The distribution of NPs

3.2.1. Subject and object pronouns

Papiamentu has series of dependent and independent singular pronouns (Table 12). The dependent forms are used as non-emphatic subjects and objects, possessive pronouns (except for the 3Sg which has a suppletive possessive form *su*), and resumptive pronouns. The independent forms are used as emphatic subjects or objects, and can be conjoined, dislocated and focussed. As shown in (83), the pronoun preceding *ku* 'with' in a conjoined NP appears in the independent form, the one following *ku* in the dependent form. The independent forms *ami* and *abo* strike us as actually consisting of the dependent form encliticised on a host *a*. We do not find a similar contrast between dependent and independent forms for the plural pronouns, although it is possible to emphasise the plural pronouns by use of *a*. The emphatic form *ele* of the 3Sg object pronoun appears to have evolved from a double object sequence in which both objects are realised as a 3Sg pronoun *e*: thus, *manda e e* > *mandele* 'send her/him it' (see (85)) is also used to mean 'send it'.

Table 12. *Pronouns*

	dependent	independent		independent	emphatic
1Sg	*mi*	*ami*	1Pl	*nos*	*(a) nos*
2Sg	*bo*	*abo*	2Pl	*boso (nan)*	*(a) boso (nan)*
3Sg	*e / el*	*e / ele*	3Pl	*nan*	*(a) nan*

(83) *Ami kuné ta forma un tim.*
1SgEmph with-3Sg Asp form a team
'Me and him are forming a team.'

(84) *No t'ami so.*
not be-1SgEmph only
'It isn't only me.'

In addition to the distributional restrictions which suggest some measure of syntactic dependence, the dependent singular pronouns are also phonologically dependent. In subject position, their surface tone is determined by the verbal complex (see 1.3.7), and in object position, encliticisation on a preceding verb or preposition takes place; encliticisation of a singular object pronoun on the verb is indicated in (69) and other examples by a dash. As shown below for sequences of a verb (*manda* 'send') and a preposition (*di* 'of, from') followed by an object pronoun, the clitic phrase has penultimate stress. The Curaçoan dialect selects the enclitic form *bu* of the second person singular pronoun. Encliticisation of *e* on prepositions yields the suppletive form *dje* in most cases: *ariba dje* 'on 3Sg', *di dje* in (86), *den dje* 'in 3Sg', *serka dje* in (129), etc. but: *kuné* in (83), *pé* in (86). Note also that the 3Sg pronoun subject, when followed by *a*, appears in the suppletive form *el*; see for instance (76), (87). Plural pronouns are not enclitic.

(85) 1Sg manda mi > man'dami
2Sg manda bo > man'dabo (Ar) / man'dabu (Cur)
3Sg manda e > man'de / man'dele
1Pl manda nos / *man'danos
2Pl manda boso / *man'daboso
3Pl manda nan / *man'danan

(86) 1Sg pa mi > 'pami
2Sg pa bo > 'pabo (Ar) / 'pabu (Cur)
3Sg pa e > 'pe / 'pele
1Sg di mi > 'dimi
2Sg di bo > 'dibo / 'dibu
3Sg di e > di dje / di djele

A syntactic relation is required for encliticisation. Thus, as is evident from (68) and (71), a possessive pronoun does not encliticise on a preceding verb. (87)', where encliticisation of an embedded subject pronoun has taken place, demonstrates that the syntactic relation is one of case-marking: the subject of the Small Clause in (87) is case-marked by the preceding matrix verb. The subject pronoun of a finite embedded clause does not encliticise on a preceding matrix verb, as shown in (71) for the subject *bo* '2Sg' of the complement clause of *kere* 'believe'.

(87) *Ela laga e negativo huñá.*
3Sg-Asp leave the negative scratched
'He has left scratches on the negative.'

(87)' *Ela lagé huñá.*
3Sg-Asp leave-3Sg scratched
'He has left scratches on it.

Pronouns cannot head a relative clause. Suppletive forms exist for the 3Sg and 3Pl forms: *esun* 'the one' and *esun nan* or *esnan* 'the ones, those', respectively.

(88) *Ta solamente esnan ku no tin plaka.*
be only those that not have money
'(It's) only those that do not have money.'

As Papiamentu does not have expletive pronouns, we find unexpressed subjects with impersonal expressions such as *Tin...* in (89), *Parse ku...* '(It) seems that...', *Ta bon/malu/posibel/dushi etc. ku...* '(It) is good/bad/possible/nice etc. that...', with the weather verb *yobe* 'rain' and weather expressions such as *Ta hasi kalor/friu etc.* '(It) is warm/cold etc.', and in expressions with arbitrary reference as in (90) (see Kouwenberg 1990 for further discussion).

(89) *Tin un par di kras riba e pòtrèt.*
have a couple of scratch on the picture
'There are some scratches on the picture.'

(90) *Ta duna lès di Ingles.*
Asp give lesson of English
'English is taught (here).'

It is also possible to use *bo* with arbitrary reference, as in the following description of the experience of parasailing in which a 2Sg subject is used, but no 2Sg reference intended.

(91) *E boto na kual bo ta mará ta kore ròmt i asina bo tambe ta kore ròmt na laira.*
the boat Loc which 2Sg be tied Asp run round and thus 2Sg also Asp run round Loc sky
'The boat to which you are tied moves around, and in this way you also move around in the sky.'

Deferential speech uses titles such as Ib *señora* ~ Du *mefrou* 'Mrs' and other terms of address, such as *tantan* 'aunt' in (92), rather than pronouns in addressing a person. According to Joubert, this custom is disappearing as the pronouns *bo* '2Sg' and *boso* '2Pl' are increasingly used in these contexts.

(92) *Pedro a manda kumindamentu pa tantan nan.*
Pedro Asp send greetings for aunt PL
'Pedro sends you (Pl) his greetings.' (in addressing one's aunts; from Joubert 1991: xiv)

3.2.1. Reflexives

According to Birmingham (1970), Papiamentu has 4 different reflexive constructions. It is, however, more accurate to say that corresponding to contexts in which the lexifiers of Papiamentu employ reflexives, Papiamentu has a range of alternative options. Muysken (1993) shows that seven different forms replaced the reflexive clitics of the Iberian lexifiers in Papiamentu, but points out that not all of these are reflexives. Thus, he mentions idiomatic *bisti paña* 'dress oneself' (lit. dress clothes), *mata kurpa* 'exert oneself' (lit. kill body), etc. and null reflexives for a group of verbs including *feita* 'shave (oneself)', *baña* 'bathe (oneself)' etc. More interesting for our purposes are the following strategies: the use of a bare object pronoun in a syntactic domain in which we would expect to find a reflexive, the use of a reflexive consisting of a possessive pronoun + *mes* 'self', and the use of a so-called body reflexive consisting of a possessive pronoun + *kurpa* 'body'. In addition, Papiamentu has a reciprocal *otro* 'each other', which we will not discuss.
Bare object pronouns are used with inherently reflexive verbs such as *komportá* 'behave', *diskulpá* 'excuse', and *sinti* 'feel' in (93). These verbs are intransitive, i.e. they cannot take an object which is not identical to the subject (unless with different meaning; Muysken 1993: 289f).

(93) *Bo ta sinti-bo manera ta na bo lugar bo ta?*
2Sg Asp feel-2sg as_if be Loc 2Sg place 2Sg be?
'Do you feel at home?' (lit. Do you feel yourself as if it is in your place (that) you are?)

Table 13. *Reflexive pronouns*

1Sg	*mi mes*	*mi kurpa*	1Pl	*nos mes*	*nos kurpa*
2Sg	*bo mes*	*bo kurpa*	2Pl	*boso (nan) mes*	*boso (nan) kurpa*
3Sg	*su mes*	*su kurpa*	3Pl	*nan mes*	*nan kurpa*

The possessive pronoun + *mes* 'self' or *kurpa* 'body' are the most frequently employed strategies; note that it is only in the 3Sg that there is a difference between the possessive and non-possessive pronoun. The possessive pronoun + *mes* reflexive is not lexically determined, in contrast with the bare pronouns. Muysken points out that the distribution of these reflexive forms is as in English, i.e. reflexives require an antecedent in an appropriate position in the same clause as in (94)-(95). The possessive pronoun + *kurpa* reflexive is used primarily with transitive verbs indicating a physical action, as in (95)-(96), but also with a few verbs that are figurative in meaning, such as *yuda su kurpa* 'help oneself' (lit. help 3Ssg body). In all of these cases, possessive pronoun + *mes* can be used instead. Muysken (1993: 300f) contains a list of verbs that take body reflexives and an analysis which relates the body reflexive to the Lexical-Conceptual Structure of the verb.

(94) *Te ainda mi no por konsiderá mi mes komo landadó.*
until yet 1Sg not can consider 1Sg self as swimmer
'Up to now I cannot consider myself a swimmer.'

(95) *Mi tei verwèn mi mes / mi kurpa.*
1Sg Asp-go treat 1Sg self / 1Sg body
'I am going to treat myself.' (interpreted as a physical treat, e.g. a massage, if *mi kurpa* is used)

(96) *Tin ora mi mester tapa mi kurpa pa sangura no pika-mi.*
have hour 1Sg must cover 1Sg body for mosquito not bite-1Sg
'Sometimes I have to cover myself for mosquitos not to bite me.'

Muysken (forthc.) points out that pronoun + *mes* / *kurpa* reflexives appear as subjects of complement clauses only where that subject is case-marked by the matrix verb. Direct perception complements, complements to causative *laga* 'let' as in (97), and adjectival complements belong in this class. This is the class of complements which obligatorily appears without a complementiser (see 3.4.2).

(97) *Haime a laga su mes / su kurpa kai.*
Haime Asp let 3SgPoss self / 3SgPoss body fall
'Haime let himself fall.' (Muysken forthc.)

We also find *mes* used as an emphatic appositive device, as in (98). Note encliticisation of the object pronoun followed by appositive *mes*: reflexive *e mes* does not encliticise.

(98) *Mi no por a papia kuné mes.*
1Sg not can Asp speak with-3Sg self
'I could not speak to him himself.'

3.3. Modification of the predicate

3.3.1. Negation

Standard negation is expressed by the preverbal negator *no*. In addition, there are negative indefinite NPs *nada* 'nothing', *ningun* 'none', *ningun hende* 'no one' (lit. noone person), and adverbs *nunka* 'never', *ningun kaminda* 'nowhere' (lit. noone place). Negative spread (i.e. the accompaniment of constituent negation by negation of the verb) as in (99), is common, but appears to be optional; thus, the verb is not negated in (100). Negative spread also obtains with the use of *ni* 'neither/nor', as in (101).

(99) *Nunka mi no a firma un kontrakto.*
never 1Sg not Asp sign a contract
'I have never signed a contract.'

(100) *Pero ningun tawatin reibeweis.*
but none Tense_have driver's_license
'But none (of them) had a driver's license.'

(101) *Mi no tin (ni) plaka ni amigu.*
1Sg not have (neither) money nor friend
'I have neither money nor friends.' (Goilo 1972: 22)

Standard negation is illustrated below. Note that the subject quantifier phrase *hopi hende* in (103) has wider scope than negation.

(102) *Awor aki no tin mucho kos pa hasi.*
now here not have many thing for do
'There isn't much to do now.'

(103) *Hopi hende no ta kumpra outo mas na e diler nan ku tin na Aruba.*
many person not Asp buy car more Loc the dealer PL that have Loc Aruba
'Many people no longer buy cars from the dealers in Aruba.'

3.3.2. Tense / Mood / Aspect

Tense, modal, and aspectual distinctions are marked primarily by preverbal particles. Maurer (1988, 1993) characterises these as in Table 14. The particle *lo* is characterised as [+posterior]. It is used in unrealised contexts, including future-in-the-past (in the combinations *lo tabata* or *lo a*), conditionals, irrealis contexts, and futures. (104) is an example of *lo* in an irrealis context. The verb *bai* 'go' is also often used to mark future and irrealis contexts, preceded by *ta*. As shown in (105), it frequently appears in a reduced form *tei* < *ta bai*, perhaps an indication of grammaticalisation in progress; see also 3.4.2 for auxiliary use of *bai* and other motion verbs.

Table 14. *Tense/Mood/Aspect*

MARKER	BASIC MEANING
lo	[+posterior]
ta / Ø	[+simultaneous]
a	[+anterior, +perfective]
tabata / tawata	[+anterior, +imperfective]

(104) *Dor ku nan ta tras di e proyekto hopi kos lo keda skondí.*
through that 3Pl be behind of the project many thing Mood remain hidden
'Because they are behind the project, many things will remain hidden.'

(105) *Si tur kos bai bon, ami tei kumpra un B.M.W.*
if all thing go well, 1SgEmph Asp-go buy a B.M.W
'If all goes well, I will buy a B.M.W.'

The use of *ta* is illustrated in, for instance, (93) and (103). Zero marking is restricted to some (but not all!) stative verbs; these restrictions are discussed in Goilo (1972), Andersen (1990), Maurer (1985). Andersen (1990) also shows that *ta* is neutral with respect to temporal reference and can occur in past as well as present contexts.

Tabata (Cur) or *tawata* (Ar) appear as reduced forms in *tabatin / tawatin*, the [+anterior] form of *tin* 'have'; (100) and (138) contain examples of the reduced form. Maurer's characterisation of *tabata* and *a* as [+anterior] is somewhat deceptive in that it suggests that both are constrained to similar tense reference whereas the perfective marker *a*, unlike *tabata*, is not restricted to a past context. An example of *a* in a future context is given in (106). There are numerous illustrations of *a* in a past context in the preceding; see for instance (98), (99). Also, *tabata* can, but *a* cannot, precede the auxiliaries *por* 'can, be able', *mester* 'must' and *kier* 'want'. These introduce what appear to be aspectual phrases, i.e. a verb phrase which may be modified by the aspectual particle *a*. An example appears in (98). Note that *bisa* 'say' is unique in having a suppletive [+anterior] form *di*.

(106) *Fin di aña lo mi bariga a baha.*
end of year Mood 1Sg belly Asp go_down
'Towards year end will my belly have been reduced.'

Lo distinguishes itself from all other particles in that it precedes the preverbal negator *no* and may appear in the position preceding a pronominal subject. According to Goilo (1972: 38), *lo* always precedes the singular subject pronouns *mi*, *bo*, *e*, and optionally precedes the emphatic singular pronouns *ami*, *abo*, *e* and the plural pronouns *nos*, *boso*, *nan*. In our experience however, *lo* also often follows singular unstressed subject pronouns, as in (109). Note also that *lo* may cooccur with any of the other particles (preceding the other particle), whereas no other combinations are possible.

(107) *Lo mi bai*
Mood 1Sg go
'I will go.' (Goilo 1972: 14)

(108) *L'e dunamé < Lo-e duna-mi-e*
Mood 3Sg give-1Sg-3Sg
'S/he will give it to me.' (Goilo 1972: 35)

(109) *Mi lo bolbe bai dialuna.*
1Sg Mood return go Monday
'I will go again on Monday.'

The auxiliary *sa* (possibly a reduced form of *sabi* 'know') marks intermittently repeated or habitual activity, as in (110). As seen in 2.2, there is an optional morphological expression of the gerundive by suffixation of *-ndo*. An illustration is given in (111). Note the diphthongisation that affects verbs that end in *-i* and take this suffix: *hasiendo* < *hasi-ndo*. Last to be mentioned is the modal use of *por* 'can/could' as in (112) below, in contrast with its non-modal use 'can, be able', as in (98).

(110) *E sa uzé ora ku e kiè tene su kabei ariba den otro.*
3Sg know use-3Sg hour that 3Sg want keep 3SgPoss hair up in each-other
'She uses it when she wants to keep her hair gathered up.'

(111) *Ei nan mi a bin haya e trabou ku mi ta hasiendo awor.*
there Pl 1Sg Asp come get the work that 1Sg Asp do-ing now
'There I got the work that I am doing now.'

(112) *Pues e pelikula por bira mas ròl.*
hence the film can turn more nice
'That way the film could turn out nicer.'

3.4. Clause types

3.4.1. Copular constructions

In this section, we will consider constructions in which *ta* 'be' heads a predicate. In contrast with such constructions in other Caribbean creole languages, the copula introduces not only nominal but also adjectival and existential/locational predicates. It cannot be premodified by any particle other than *lo*, but in past tense contexts the suppletive form *tabata / tawata* is used. *Ta / tabata* copula followed by a nominal predicate is illustrated in (113), an adjectival predicate in (91) (involving the participial adjective *marà* 'tied'), a location PP predicate in (93), a non-locational PP predicate in (104), and a clausal predicate in (114). Note that the location predicate *na bo lugar* 'in your place' in (93) appears in focus, and that the copula is stranded at the end of the sentence. While copula *ta / tabata* and aspectual particles *ta / tabata* go back to a common historical source, it is not obvious that this fact has synchronic relevance. Thus, stranding of the particle *ta* under verb focus is impossible: *Ta bai mi ta *(bai).* [be go 1Sg Asp (go)] 'I'm really going.'

(113) *Esei ta e uniko pida literatura ku mi a lesa desde ku mi a bin Aruba bèk.*
that be the only piece literature that 1Sg Asp read since that 1Sg Asp come Aruba back
'That is the only piece of literature that I have read since I've returned to Aruba.'

(114) *E plan tabata pa bai buska dos hamster serka nan.*
the plan Tense_be for go find two guinea_pig at 3Pl
'The plan was to go get two guinea pigs from them.'

The use of the copular verb *bira* 'become' (lit. 'turn') is illustrated in (112). It is typically used to denote a process or its end result, and may be followed by adjectival or nominal constituents. (115) contains the copular verb *keda* 'remain', which introduces only adjectival constituents and does not entail a preceding process. In (115), a sudden stroke is the cause of the subject's condition.

(115) *Ela keda medio paralisá.*
3Sg-Asp remain half paralysed
'It left her half paralysed' (lit. She was left half paralysed)

3.4.2. Complement clauses

Here we will discuss clausal complementation of verbs. Muysken (forthc.) shows that Papiamentu distinguishes at least three types of complements: finite, non-finite and a type of complement which limits the possibility of aspect marking to *ta* and which he calls gerundial. Complements are

introduced by *ku* 'that', *di* 'of', *pa* 'for' or Ø. In addition, indirect questions may be introduced by *si* 'if, whether', or any of the question words in Table 11; we will not discuss these here.
Ku introduces finite complements which may disagree with the main clause in tense reference and negation; the latter is illustrated in (116). It is sometimes optionally present, as in (117), though the conditions under which *ku* is not required are not at all clear; van Putte & Garcia attempt a semantic account of its distribution. *Ku*-complements are selected by speech-verbs (e.g. *bisa* 'say', *konta* 'tell (a story)'), psychological verbs (e.g. *komprondé* 'understand', *ke(re)* 'believe'), and perception verbs (e.g. *mira* 'see', *sinti* 'feel'). We also find *ku* as part of complex conjunctions introducing finite clauses, such as *dor ku* 'because' in (104), *desde ku* 'since' in (113), *ora ku* 'when' in (110), *promé ku* 'before' in (121), *basta ku* 'provided that' etc.

(116) *Bo por komprondé ku mi no tin mucho tempo liber awor.*
2Sg can understand that 1Sg not have much time free now
'You can understand that I don't have much free time now.'

(117) *Mi ta spera (ku) tur kos ta bai bon.*
1Sg Asp hope (that) all thing Asp go well
'I hope (that) all is going well.'

Muysken (forthc.) argues that indirect perception complements are finite *ku*-complements while direct perception complements, which do not allow a complementiser, are gerundials. (118) is an example of an indirect perception complement: the matrix verb *wak* 'see' is followed by a clause introduced by *ku* which denotes an event which is not directly perceived by the subject *mi* but deduced from what he sees in his papers. The complement clause contains [+perfective] *a*. (119) contains a direct perception complement which lacks a complementiser and may contain *ta* but not *a* or *tabata*; also, the interpretation of *ta* differs from that in main clauses. Other differences between indirect and direct perception complements relate to quantifier scope (narrow in the first, wide in the latter) and binding (only the latter allow reflexives in subject position; see 3.2.1). Gerundial clauses are also found as adverbial clauses, as in (120): *ta warda* denotes circumstance.

(118) *Awor mi ta wak den mi papel nan ku mi a skirbi bo karta dia 18 kaba.*
now 1Sg Asp see in my paper Pl that 1Sg Asp write 2Sg letter day 18 already
'Now I notice in my papers that I wrote you a letter the 18th already.'

(119) *M'a miré (ta) kap e palu.*
1Sg-Asp see-3Sg (Asp) cut the tree
'I saw him cut(ting) the tree.' (from Muysken forthc.)

(120) *Si mi pòst e karta awe e ta keda dos dia den e pòstbùs ta warda.*
if 1Sg mail the letter today 3Sg Asp remain two day in the mailbox Asp wait
'If I mail the letter today it will spend two days in the mailbox waiting.'

Pa introduces complements which Dijkhoff (1993: 26) characterises as expressing potentiality. She distinguishes two types of *pa*-clauses, purposives, as in (96), and subjunctives, as in (121) (Dijkhoff 1993: 62). *Pa*-complements may lack an overt subject, as in (122), where the interpretation of the unexpressed subject of the *pa*-clause is controlled by the matrix subject, and (123), where the first *pa*-clause modifies the adjective *dushi*, the second the noun *kos*, and the subject reference of both

the matrix and the *pa*-clauses is arbitrary. The status of these clauses is discussed in Mufwene & Dijkhoff (1989) and Kouwenberg (1990) which reach different conclusions regarding (ascertainability of) finiteness of such clauses. Note that *pa* is not optional.

(121) *Mi no kier pa hopi tempo mester pasa promé ku bo haya mi karta.*
1Sg not want for much time must pass before that 2Sg get 1Sg letter
'I do not want too much time to go by before you get my letter.'

(122) *Mi a bai 'Job Centre' pa buska trabou.*
1Sg Asp go Job Centre for find work
'I went to the Job Centre to find work.'

(123) *Sèmper ta dushi pa haya kos nobo pa lesa.*
always be nice for get thing new for read
'(It) is always nice to get something new to read.'

According to Dijkhoff, the complementisers *pa* and *di* can often appear in the same position, but *di*-clauses contrast with *pa*-clauses in referring to realised events (1993: 26). There is, however, no such interchangeability in purposive *pa*-clauses and any *pa*-clauses that contain overt subjects. Also, while there may be a general tendency for *di*-clauses to refer to realised events, there are also cases where it refers to an unrealised event, as in (124). Many *di*-clauses are subcategorised by the main verb. We find idiomatic combinations such as *yega di* in (125), *kaba di* 'just finished...' [lit. finish of...], and non-idiomatic uses such as that in (126). In each case, the *di*-clause does not contain an overt subject; the interpretation of the unexpressed subject is controlled by the matrix subject.

(124) *Mi tambe lo purba di ta presente e ora.*
1Sg also Mood try of be present the hour
'I will also try to be present then.'

(125) *Ela yega di haya ataka.*
3Sg-Asp reach of get stroke
'She has had a stroke.'

(126) *Mi a disidí di drumi pafó bou di e palo di koko nan.*
1Sg Asp decide of sleep outside under of the tree of coconut Pl
'I decided to sleep outside under the coconut trees.'

Last to be mentioned here is the selection of bare VP complements by the verbs *bai*, *bini*/*bin*, *bolbe*, both in their uses as motion verbs and as auxiliary verbs. *Bai* 'go' is a motion verb in (127), but also introduces future events, as in (105). Similarly, *bini* 'come' is a motion verb in (128), but denotes a resultative in (111). *Bolbe* 'return', is also used with bare VP complements in a literal interpretation, as in (129), or in a non-literal interpretation in (109).

(127) *Awe mainta mi a bai subi Hooiberg.*
today morning 1Sg Asp go climb Hooiberg
'This morning I climbed up Hooiberg.'

(128) *Ayera L. a bin bishitá nos.*
yesterday L. Asp come visit 1Pl
'Yesterday L. came to visit us.'

(129) *E 'manager' a bisa-mi ku mi por pasa serka dje ora mi bolbe bin biba na Aruba.*
the manager Asp tell-1Sg that 1Sg can pass at 3Sg hour 1Sg return come live Loc Aruba
'The manager told me that I could pass by him when I came back to live in Aruba.'

3.4.3. Serial verb constructions

The constructions in Papiamentu which can be classified as serial verb constructions are roughly of the following types: (i) a series of verbs denotes a series of events which may or may not be simultaneous, such as 'stay home, do things' in (130); (ii) the second verb in a series further qualifies the event of the first, e.g. 'play pingpong' qualifies the event 'train' in (131); (iii) the second verb in a series modifies the event of the first, e.g. 'go' modifies 'run' by specifying its direction in (132) (see also Bendix 1972, Sebba 1987).

(130) *Esei tawata nèt un dia ku mi kièr a keda kas hasi algun otro kos ku mi tin di hasi.*
that Tense_be just a day that 1Sg want Asp remain house do some other thing that 1Sg have of do
'That just happened to be a day that I wanted to stay home to do some other things I had to do.'

(131) *Ami ku Stephen ta bai tren hunga 'pingpong'.*
1SgEmph with Stephen Asp go train play pingpong
'Stephen and I are going to practice playing pingpong.'

(132) *Ela kore bai su kas.*
3Sg-Asp run go 3SgPoss house
'S/he ran home.'

The first type of construction is by far the most common in Papiamentu. It imposes no restrictions whatsoever on the combinations of verbs which appear in it, nor is it required that there is a simultaneity or even overlap of events. Perhaps because of this, it has been claimed to be a paratactic construction (van Putte & Garcia 1990). The issue of what constitutes a serial verb construction is a complex one (see Law & Veenstra 1992 and the contributions in Lefebvre 1991 for some recent discussion), and it is beyond the scope of this description to delve into it. However, what appears to be indicative of the status of this type of construction as serial is the phenomenon of object sharing: the internal argument of the second verb is not overtly realised if identical to that of the preceding verb; in this respect, serial verb constructions contrast with paratactic constructions (see also Muysken forthc.). Thus, the internal argument of *drecha* 'repair' in (133) is "shared" with that of *hiba* 'take, carry' and not overtly expressed. In addition, the verbs cannot be independently modified for modality, tense, or aspect: only premodification of the first verb in the series, with scope over the series, is possible. Thus, [+perfective] *a* in (133) marks both *hiba* and *drecha* as [+perfective], and the utterance would be inappropriate in a context in which the repair was not carried out.

(133) *Mi a hibé drecha.*
1Sg Asp take-3Sg repair
'I took it to have (it) repaired.' (lit. ...to repair (it))

There is both a semantic relationship between the verbs in the second and third type and simultaneity of the events which they describe. Again, if the verbs share an internal argument it is expressed only once, as illustrated in (134) in which *mata* 'kill' modifies *dal* 'hit' in denoting the result of this event. [+perfective] *a* has scope over both events, which makes this utterance inappropriate in a context in which the first event but not the second is realised. It is also worth noting that in a construction such as (132) above, the first verb *kore* is intransitive: *bai* 'go' here serves the additional purpose of introducing a goal argument.

(134) *Outo a dal e mata.*
car Asp hit 3Sg kill
'A car hit her/him/it (and) killed (her/him/it).'

3.5. Modification of the noun

The order in which constituents appear in the NP is the following: Quantifier - Article/Possessive - Adjective - Noun - Adjective - Plural - Demonstrative - Relative clause/PP.
Some adjectives appear in the position preceding the noun. This class includes *delaster* 'last', *promé* 'first', *di dos* 'second' (lit. of two) etc., *henter* 'whole', etc. Also, numerals appear in this position (as in *E dos outo nan bieu.* 'The two old cars'). Some other adjectives may precede the noun with an emphatic interpretation, as in (135), or a specific semantic interpretation, as in (136).

(135) *Un mucha bunita.*
a child pretty
'A pretty child.'

(135)′ *Un bunita mucha.*
a pretty child
'A very pretty/beautiful child.'

(136) *Un hende malu.*
a person bad
a. 'A sick person.'
b. 'A bad person.'

(136)′ *Un mal hende.*
a bad person
'A bad person.'

In the following, we will first discuss the use of articles, plural and demonstratives (3.5.1). We will then turn to possessives 3.5.2), and relativisation (3.5.3).

3.5.1. Definiteness and plural

Articles are *un* 'a' and *e* 'the' ((homophonous with the numeral *un* 'one' and the 3Sg pronoun *e*). We tentatively define them as [-generic,-plural,-definite] and [-generic,+definite], respectively. Plural is marked on [+definite] NPs by enclitic *nan* (homophonous with the third person plural pronoun *nan*); it either directly follows the head noun or appears at the end of the NP. The adverbs *aki*

'here', *ei* 'there' and *aya* 'yonder' can take the final position in a [+definite] NP to mark [±proximity]; *aki* appears for instance in (80).
Generic NPs are unmarked both for definiteness and number. Consider the contrast in NPs referring to the same entity in the consecutive utterances (137)-(139). The NP *outo* in (137) refers to 'cars' as a generic entity which defines a particular type of work (hence the generic translation rather than something along the lines of '...found me working on a car/cars.'). In (138), the reference of *outo* is made unambiguously singular by the article *un*. The referent, once introduced in the discourse, becomes [+definite]; hence *e outo* in (139).

(137) *Pasko a habrimi ta traha riba outo.*
Christmas Asp open-1Sg Asp work on car
'Christmas found me doing car-work.'

(138) *Mi omo J tawatin un outo ku e mester a drecha promé ku Pasko.*
1Sg uncle J Tense_have a car that 3Sg must Asp repair before that Christmas
'My uncle J had a car which he should have repaired before Christmas.'

(139) *Dia 24 di desember ainda e outo no tawata kla.*
day 24 of December still the car not Tense_be ready
'The 24th of December the car still wasn't ready.'

Similarly, the NPs in (140) are treated as generic entities which define a type of errand, despite the fact that the preferred interpretation is one in which the subject went to a specific church etc.

(140) *Ela bai misa / hòspital / dòkter / dentista.*
3Sg-Asp go church / hospital/ doctor / dentist
'S/he went to church / the hospital / the doctor / the dentist.'

Plural is marked by enclitic *nan* on [+definite,+plural] nouns. Compare the NP *e outo nan ku...* in (141) and the NP *outo* in (142): in the first, *outo* is preceded by the definite article, in the second it is not; despite the plural interpretation of the second NP in this context, plurality is not marked. In (143) the presence of the possessive *su* makes the reference of the NP *tur su karta nan* a definite one.

(141) *Mayoría di e outo nan ku nan ta bende ta mucho karo pa nan tamaño.*
majority of the car PL that PL Asp sell be too expensive for 3Pl size
'Most of the cars that they sell are too expensive for their size.'

(142) *Hopi hende no ta kumpra outo mas na e diler nan ku tin na Aruba.*
many person not Asp buy car more Loc the dealer Pl that have Loc Aruba
'Many people no longer buy cars from the dealers in Aruba.'

(143) *Bisé ku mi a haya tur su karta nan.*
tell-3Sg that 1Sg Asp get all 3SgPoss letter Pl
'Tell him that I got all his letters.'

Nan is a phrasal clitic, as is evident from the fact that it may follow non-head material in the NP. This, however, is restricted to adjectives. Thus, in (144), *nan* follows the adjective *bunita* but

precedes the PP *den shelo*; see also (141) above which contains a relative clause which follows *nan*. (144)′, in which *nan* precedes the adjective, is of course also possible. The generic form in (144)″ contains neither an article nor the plural marker and has a somewhat different interpretation. Dijkhoff (1983a) contains a more in-depth discussion of pluralisation. She shows that *nan* marks plural on nouns, nounphrases, pronouns, other nominal proforms (see for instance (88)), and relative pronouns. In addition, *nan* marks an associative plural on proper names. See also 2.9 on plural marking in compounds.

(144) *Ariba mi kama den kurá mi por drumi i wak tur e strea bunita nan den shelo.*
on 1Sg bed in yard 1Sg can lie and see all the star pretty PL in sky
'On my bed in the yeard I can lie down and look at all the pretty stars in the sky.'

(144)′ *Tur e strea nan bunita den shelo.*
all the star PL pretty in sky
'All the pretty stars in the sky.'

(144)″ *Tur strea bunita den shelo.*
all star pretty in sky
'All pretty stars / Each pretty star in the sky.'

Some of the more common generic NPs which appear with the existential quantifier *tur* are: *tur hende / tur ora / tur kaminda / tur kos / tur dia* 'everybody / always / everywhere / everything / every day' (lit. every person / every hour / every way / every thing / every day). Quantifiers other than *tur* do not admit cooccurrence with the article or possessive. These include *hopi* 'many', *poko* 'few', *basta* 'quite a few', *diferente* 'several', negative *ningun* 'none'.

3.5.2. Possessives

We distinguish premodified possessives from phrasal genitives. Premodified possessives contain a possessive pronoun preceding the possessed noun. The possessive pronouns are identical to the subject/object pronouns except for the suppletive 3SgPoss form *su*. There are quite a few examples of such possessives in the preceding. Where the possessor is a lexical NP, a dislocated possessive is used of the form POSSESSOR - POSSESSIVE PRONOUN - POSSESSED. Phrasal genitives are of the form POSSESSED - *di* - POSSESSOR. As mentioned in 2.9.2, phrasal genitives can also be used to denote relations between NPs other than a possessed-possessor relation. Premodified possessives are avoided with [-human] possessors, although it is possible to use them in that context. The phrasal genitive is not so restricted. Compare the possessives in (145) and (146): the relationship between the possessor *Eric* and the possessed *kas* is expressed in a premodified possessive in (145), in a phrasal genitive in (146).

(145) *E kushina di Eric su kas.*
the kitchen of Eric 3SgPoss house
'The kitchen of Eric's house.'

(146) *Awor aki mi ta sintá na mesa den kushina na kas di mi ruman Eric.*
now here 1Sg be seated Loc table in kitch Loc house of 1Sg sibling Eric
'I am now sitting at the table in the kitchen in my brother Eric's house.'

3.5.3. Relativisation

Relative clauses are either introduced by a relative pronoun or by the complementiser *ku* 'that'. The relative pronouns are: *ken(de)* 'who', *kual* 'which', *kaminda* 'where'. Not only does the use of *ku* appear to be the more common strategy, subject only to considerations of recoverability, it is the only option available for relativisation of adverbial expressions of time and manner. There are some examples of *ku*-relatives in the preceding; (141) for instance illustrates relativisation of the object of *bende* 'sell' with [-human] reference, (142) of the complement of impersonal *tin* with [+human] reference, (88) of the subject position in the relative clause. Two examples of the use of relative pronouns follow. In (147), *kaminda* cannot be replaced by *ku* as its content cannot be recovered from the resulting string due to the fact that the relativised position is an optional adverbial one. In (148), pied-piping of the preposition *na* has taken place and replacement by *ku* is again impossible: *ku* cannot replace *kual* as it is not nominal in nature, hence **na ku...* Nor can it replace *na kual* as this would again result in a string with irrecoverable content. However, stranding of the preposition *na* is also possible, and in that case either *kual* or *ku* may appear, as in (148)′. Dijkhoff (1983b, 1989, 1993) demonstrates that a resumptive pronoun (here the suppletive 3Sg form *dje*) must appear in such contexts. See also Muysken (1977) on Wh-movement.

(147) *Bo ta mira tur kos for di un punta na laira kaminda bo ta kolgá bou di un parashut.*
2Sg Asp see all thing from of a point Loc sky where 2Sg be hung under of a parachute
'You see everything from a point up in the sky where you are hanging under a parachute.'

(148) *E boto na kual bo ta mará ta kore ròmt.*
the boat Loc which 2Sg be tied Asp run round
'The boat to which you are tied moves around.'

(148)′ *E boto kual / ku bo ta mará na dje ta kore ròmt.*
the boat which 2Sg be tied Loc 3Sg Asp run round
'The boat which you are tied to (it) moves around.'

Example (149) shows that a complex NP (bracketed for convenience) may appear in subject position. Last to be mentioned are infinitival relatives introduced by *pa* 'for' and *di* 'of'. An example of a *pa*-relative appears in (102), of a *di*-relative (150). See also the discussion in 3.4.2 of clauses introduced by *pa* and *di*.

(149) [*Mi pia ku mi a molestiá dimas ku hungamento di 'ping-pong'*] *no ta hasi doló mas.*
[2Sg leg that 1Sg Asp tire too_much with play-ing of ping-pong] not Asp do pain more
'[My leg which I tired too much with playing pingpong] isn't hurting anymore.'

(150) *Si bo haya chèns di bishitá Cuba bo mester bai.*
if 2Sg get opportunity of visit Cuba 2Sg must go
'If you get an opportunity to visit Cuba you should go.'

3.6. Prepositions

Papiamentu is fairly rich in prepositions, in contrast with other Caribbean creole languages. Particularly interesting is its extensive use of complex prepositions in which *di* 'of' is used as a semantically empty case-marker. (151) for instance contains the PP *for di bou di* NP, lit. 'from of under of' (*foi* < *for di*). See also (147) which contains examples of *for di* and *bou di*. Neither *for* nor *bou* exist independently. Other such complex prepositions are *banda di* 'near, around', *despues di* 'after', *afó di* > *foi* 'outside', *dilanti di* > *dilanti* 'in front of', *tras di* > *trei* 'behind' as in (104). That appearance of *di* is lexically governed is evident from prepositions which do not require it, viz. *riba* 'on' in (137), *den* 'in(side)' in (146), *di* 'of, from' in (149), *ku* 'with' in (149), *na* all-purpose locative preposition in (147), *pa* 'for' in (141), *te* 'until' in (72). Note however that *di* is required also by *riba, den, di, na* if the object takes the form of the 3Sg pronoun *e*. In addition, *promé ku* 'before' is a complex preposition which does not involve *di*.

(151) *E ora mi ta sali foi bou di e klambu.*
the hour 1Sg Asp come_out from-of under of the mosquitonet
'Then I come out from under the mosquitonet.'

Some prepositions can be detransitivised by construal of *a* + P and *pa* + P as in *padilanti* 'forwards, at the front', *atras / patras* 'backwards, at the back', *afó / pafó* 'outside', *aden / paden* 'inside', *ariba / pariba* 'up', *abou / pabou* 'down', *aserka* 'near', but *na banda* 'at the side' not **pa banda*. The *a*-forms appear where a complement has been extracted, as in (152), where the object position of *den* 'in(side)' has been relativized; some of them can also be used adverbially, e.g. *ariba* in (110). The *pa*-forms appear in adverbial positions, e.g. *pafó* in (126), and in NP positions, as in (153) where *paden* appears in subject position; *aden* is not acceptable here. Note that the *pa*-forms can also be used as directional adverbs, in contrast with the *a*-forms.

(152) *E envelòp ku bo a manda bo karta aden.*
the envelop which 2Sg Asp send 2Sg letter a-inside
'The envelop which you send your letter in.'

(153) *Paden ta mucho kalor pa mi drumi.*
for-inside be too hot for 1Sg sleep
'Inside (the house) is too hot for me to sleep.'

The locative adverbs *aki* 'here', *ei* 'there' and *aya* 'yonder' cannot appear as complements following a preposition; they appear instead in the position preceding the preposition, as illustrated for *aki* in (154). This also has the effect of detransitivizing the preposition. Note however that this is not true of the monomorphemic prepositions: **aki na / *na aki* and *p'aki / *aki pa, te aki / *aki te*.

(154) *Ken sabi bo por pasa un wikènt aki banda.*
Who know 2Sg may pass a weekend here near
'Who knows you could perhaps spend a weekend around here.'

We have commented on pied-piping and preposition-stranding in the preceding (see 3.1.2, 3.5.3). Suffice it here to point out that partial pied-piping of complex PPs is not allowed: either all preposition-material is stranded, or it is all pied-piped.

3.7. Comparatives

A final remark concerns the comparative construction, the format of which is given in (155).

(155)

equative:	*A ta mes X ku B* 'A is equally X as B'
comparative:	*A ta mas X ku B* 'A is more X than B'
comparative:	*A ta menos X ku B* 'A is less X than B'
negative comparative:	*A no ta asina X manera B* 'A is not as X as B'
superlative:	*e di mas X* 'the most X'

An example of a comparative is given in (156). (157) shows an alternative strategy for the expression of an equative comparative. Independent use is illustrated in (112).

(156) *Pues mi ta hopi mas chikitu ku bo.*
hence 1Sg be lot more small than 2Sg
'Therefore I am a lot younger than you are.'

(157) *Su bariga ta gordo mes kos ku di-mi.*
3SgPoss belly be fat same thing that off-1Sg
'His belly is just as fat as mine.'

4. Text

The following text was provided by Haime E. Jones, native speaker of the Aruban dialect of Papiamentu/Papiamento.

(1)

Ayera	nochi	mi	a	bai	hunga	'ping-pong'	ku	S.
yesterday	night	1Sg	Asp	go	play	ping-pong	with	S.

'Last night I went to play pingpong with S.'

(2)

S.	a	gana-mi.
S.	Asp	win-1Sg

'Stephen beat me.'

(3)

Mi	ta	kere	ku	mi	a	forsa	mi	pia,
1Sg	Asp	believe	that	1Sg	Asp	force	1Sg	leg

pasobra	ela	lanta	mashá	doló	mes	awe.	
because	3Sg-Asp	get up	much	pain	self	today	

'I believe I forced my leg because it was very painful when I got up today.' (lit. ...it got up very painful today)

(4) Ora mi a yega kas, banda di un or awe mainta, mi
hour 1Sg Asp reach house, around of one o'clock today morning, 1Sg

a bai drumi den e baki di e 'pick-up' di mi padraso.
Asp go sleep in the open back of the pick-up of 1Sg stepfather

'When I reached home, around one o'clock this morning, I went to sleep in the back of my stepfather's pick-up.'

(5) Paden ta mucho kalor pa mi drumi, p'esei mi a disidí
Inside be too much heat for 1Sg sleep, for-that 1Sg Asp decide

di drumi pafó bou di e palo di koko nan.
of sleep outside under of the tree of coconut Pl

'Inside (it) is too hot for me to sleep, that's why I decided to sleep outside under the coconut trees.'

(6) Awe nochi mi lo drumi ku e shelo komo mi plafon.
today night 1Sg Mood sleep with the sky like 1Sg ceiling

'Tonight I will sleep with the sky for my ceiling.'

(7) Mi a pone un kama den kurá pa mi bolbe drumi pafó.
1Sg Asp put a bed in yard for 1Sg return sleep outside

'I put a bed in the yard for me sleep outside again.'

(8) Mi no por bolbe drumi den e baki di e 'pick-up', pasobra
1Sg not can return sleep in the open back of the pick-up, because

mañan mainta temprá mi padraso mester bai traha ku e 'pick-up'.
tomorrow morning early 1Sg stepfather must go work with thepick-up.

'I cannot sleep again in the back of the pick-up, because my stepfather needs to go work with the pick-up tomorrow morning early.'

(9) Ariba mi kama den kurá mi por drumi i wak
on 1Sg bed in yard 1Sg can lie and see

tur e strea bunita nan den shelo.
all the star pretty Pl in sky

'On my bed in the yard I can lie down and look at all the pretty stars in the sky.'

(10) Mi ta atmirá e strea nan i mi ta bai
1Sg Asp admire the star Pl and 1Sg Asp go

den manera un soño, ku mi wowo nan habrí.
in like a dream, with 1Sg eye Pl opened

'I admire the stars and (it is) as if I enter a dream with my eyes open.'

5. Bibliography

ACS *Amsterdam Creole Studies* [published by the Institute for General Linguistics, University of Amsterdam]

Homenahe *Homenahe na Raúl Römer* [published in 1989 by the Instituto Lingwístiko Antiano di Departamentu di Enseñansa, Willemstad N.A.]

JPCL *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages.*

SCL *Studies in Caribbean Language.* Lawrence Carrington (ed.) St. Augustine, Trinidad: Society for Caribbean Linguistics.

Alleyne, Mervyn C. 1980. *Comparative Afro-American.* Ann Arbor: Karoma.

Andersen, Roger. 1974. Nativization and hispanization in the Papiamentu of Curaçao, N.A.: A sociolinguistic study of variation. Unpublished dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.

--. 1983. One norm or several? Linguistic variation in Papiamentu and its role in language planning. *Papiamentu: problems and possibilities*: 61-84. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.

--. 1990. Papiamentu tense-aspect, with special attention to discourse. *Pidgin and creole tense-mood-aspect systems.* John Singler (ed.):59-96. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Bendix, Edward H. 1972. Serial verbs in the Caribbean and West Africa: Their semantic analysis in Papiamento. Hunter College, CUNY Ms.

--. 1983. Sandhi phenomena in Papiamentu, other creoles and African languages: Can they be used to reconstruct history? *SCL*:112-123.

Bickerton, Derek. 1981. *Roots of language.* Ann Arbor: Karoma.

--. 1984. The language bioprogram hypothesis. *Behavioral and Brain Siences* 7: 173-221.

Birmingham, J.C. 1970. The Papiamentu language of Curaçao. Unpublished dissertation, University of Virginia.

Bock, Sylvia Martina 1984. fronting in Caribbean Creoles. Unpublished dissertation, University of Southern California.

Byrne, Francis & Alexander F. Caskey. 1993. A few observations on the creole aspectual marker *ta* and some implications for finiteness. *Atlantic meets Pacific: A global view of pidginization and creolization.* Francis Byrne and John Holm (eds.):207-216. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Caskey, Alexander F. 1990. Contrólling into purpose clauses the creole way. *Linguistics* 28:689-712.

Devonish, Hubert. 1989. *Talking in tones: A study of tone in Afro-European creole languages.* London: Karia Press.

Dijkhoff, Mario A. 1980. *Dikshonario Papiamentu-Ulandes, Ulandes-Papiamentu.* Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.

--. 1989. Análisis di Sandhi, su funshon i entonashon prinsipal. *Homenahe*: 22-31.

Dijkhoff, Marta B. 1983a. The process of pluralization in Papiamentu. *SCL*:217-229.

--. 1983b. Movement rules and the resumptive pronoun strategy in Papiamentu. Unpublished MA Thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.

--. 1987. Complex and composite noun phrases in Papiamentu. *Varia Creolica.* Philippe Maurer & Thomas Stolz (eds.):1-10. Bochum: Studienverlag Brockmeyer.

--. 1989. Pronòmbernan mará na Papiamentu. *Homenahe*:32-38.

--. 1993. Papiamentu word formation. Unpublished dissertation, University of Amsterdam.

Elstak, Frank A. 1989. Metathesis in Papiamentu. *Homenahe*:39-49.

Fodale, Peter. 1984. Non-finite sentential complementation in Papiamentu. *Papers in Linguistics* [University of Michigan] 5:1-15.

Goilo. E.T. 1972. *Papiamentu textbook* [fourth edition]. Aruba: De Wit Stores.

Goodman, Morris 1987. The Portuguese element in the American creoles. *Pidgin and creole languages: Essays in memory of John E. Reinecke.* Glenn Gilbert (ed.):361-405. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
Gosslinga, Cornelius. 1979. *A short history of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
Hartog, J. 1961. *Curaçao, van kolonie tot autonomie.* Aruba: De Wit.
--. 1967. *Curaçao, a short history.* Aruba: De Wit.
Holm, John. 1988/1989. *Pidgins and Creoles*, Volume I/II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Jansen, Bert & Hilda Koopman & Pieter Muysken. 1978. Serial verbs in the Creole Languages. *ACS* II. 125-159.
Jeuda, David M. 1983. Early newspaper texts in Papiamentu: Internal and external comparisons. *SCL*:70-74.
Joubert, Sidney M. 1991. *Dikshonario Papiamentu-Hulandes.* Curaçao: Fundashon di Leksikografia.
Koster, Jan. 1975. Dutch as an SOV language. *Linguistic Analysis* 1:111-136.
Kouwenberg, Silvia. 1990. Complementizer *pa*, the finiteness of its complements, and some remarks on empty categories in Papiamento. *JPCL* 5:39-51.
--. (in press). Conversion in disguise: Observations on Papiamentu non-affixal morphology. *Working Papers from the Department of Language and linguistics.* Hubert Devonish (ed.). Mona, Jamaica: University of the West Indies.
Law, Paul & Tonjes Veenstra. 1992. On the structure of serial verb constructions. *Linguistic Analysis* 22:185-217.
Lefèbvre, Claire (ed.) 1991. *Serial verbs: Grammatical, comparative and cognitive approaches.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Lenz, Rodolfo 1928. *El Papiamento, la lengua criolla de Curazao (la gramática más sencilla).* Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Balcells.
Lipski, John M. 1993. Origin and development of *ta* in Afro-Hispanic creoles. *Atlantic meets Pacific: A global view of pidginization and creolization.* Francis Byrne and John Holm (eds.): 217-231. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Lipski, John M. and Armin Schwegler. 1993. Creole Spanish and Afro-Hispanic. *Bilingualism and linguistic conflict in Romance* [Trends in Romance linguistics and philology 5]. Rebecca Posner & John N. Green (eds.):407-432. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Maduro, Antoine J. 1966. Procedencia di palabranan Papiamentu i otro anotacionnan. Curaçao: privately printed.
--. 1971. *Bon Papiamentu (i un Appendix interesante).* Curaçao: Spaans Seminarium.
Mansur, Jossy M. 1991. *Dictionary English-Papiamento, Papiamento-English / Diccionario Papiamento-Ingles, Ingles-Papiamento.* Oranjestad, Aruba: Edicionnan Clasico Diario.
Martis, Eithel. 1989. Velare en alveolaire nasaal in woordfinale positie in het Papiamentu. *Homenahe*:50-63.
Maurer, Philippe. 1985. Le système temporel du papiamento et le système temporel proto-créole de Bickerton. *ACS* 8:41-66.
--. 1986a. Le papiamento de Curaçao: Un cas de créolisation atypique? *Études créoles* 9:97-113.
--. 1986b. El origen del Papiamento (desde el punto de vista de sus tiempos gramaticales). *Neue Romania* 4: 129-149.
--. 1987a. La comparaison des morphèmes temporels du papiamento et du palenquero: arguments contre la théorie monogénétique de la genèse des langues créoles. *Varia Creolica.* Philippe Maurer and Thomas Stolz (eds.):27-70. Bochum: Studienverlag Brockmeyer.
--. 1987b. Substrate influence on the semantics of the Papiamentu particle *di*: A reply to Bickerton 1986. [Short note] *JPCL* 2:239-243.

--. 1988. Les réiterations et reduplications lexicalisées du Papiamento: Influence du substrat Africain? *Bochum-Essener Beiträge zur Sprachwandelforschung.* Norbert Boretzky, Werner Enninger and Thomas Stolz (eds.):95-118. Bochum: Studienverlag Brockmeyer.
--. 1988. *Les modifications temporelles et modales du verbe dans le papiamento de Curaçao (Antilles Néerlandaises).* [Kreolische Bibliothek 9] Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
--. 1991. Der Einfluss Afrikanischer Sprachen auf die Wortsemantik des Papiamentu. *Beiträge zum 6. Essener Kolloquium.* Norbert Boretzky, Werner Enninger and Thomas Stolz (eds.):123-138. Bochum: Studienverlag Brockmeyer.
--. 1993. Subjunctive mood in Papiamentu. *Atlantic meets Pacific: A global view of pidginization and creolization.* Francis Byrne and John Holm (eds.):243-250. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Mufwene, Salikoko and Marta Dijkhoff. 1989. On the so-called "infinitive" in Atlantic creoles. *Lingua* 77:297-330.
Muller, Enrique. 1989. Lokalisashon di 'nan' den e konstrukshon sustantivo + athetivo. *Homenahe*:54-80.
Murray, Eric. (forthc.) Papiamentu tone and stress. MA thesis, UWI at Mona.
Muysken, Pieter. 1977. Movement rules in Papiamentu. *ACS* I:80-102.
--. 1981. Creole tense/mood/aspect systems: The unmarked case? *Generative studies in creole languages.* Pieter Muysken (ed.): 181-200. Dordrecht: Foris.
--. 1993. Reflexes of Ibero-Romance reflexive clitic+verb combinations in Papiamentu: Thematic grids and grammatical relations. *Focus and grammatical relations in creole languages.* Francis Byrne and Donald Winford (eds.):285-301. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
--. (forthc.) On the typology of clauses in Papiamentu.
Muysken, Pieter & Norval Smith. Question words in pidgin and creole languages. *Linguistics* 28:883-903.
van Putte, Florimon. 1985. Taking government seriously. *Linguistics in the Netherlands.* Hans Bennis and Frits Beukema (eds.):145-155. Dordrecht: Foris.
van Putte, Florimon & Erica Garcia. 1990. Where there is a message there is a way. *JPCL* 5:187-222.
Richardson, Linda. 1977. The phrasal conjunctor and the comitative marker in Papiamentu. *ACS* I:55-68.
Römer, Raúl G. 1977. Polarization phenomena in Papiamentu [reprinted in Römer 1991]. *ACS* I:69-79.
--. Papiamentu tones. *Papiamentu: Problems and possibilities.* Enrique Muller (ed.). Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.
--. 1991. *Studies in Papiamentu tonology* [Caribbean Culture Studies 5]. Amsterdam/Kingston: University of Amsterdam/University of the West Indies.
Sebba, Mark. 1987. *The syntax of serial verbs.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Smith, Norval S. 1987. The genesis of the creole languages of Surinam. Unpublished dissertation, University of Amsterdam.
Taylor, Douglas. 1877. *Languages of the West Indies.* Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press
Todd Dandaré, Ramon. 1978. Negation and interrogation in Papiamento. Society for Caribbean Linguistics Conference of 1978.
Vos-de Jesús, Magalis M. 1989. The multifunctional marker 'nan' in Papiamentu. *Homenahe*:81-86.
Wood, Richard E. 1972a. New light on the origins of Papiamento: An eighteenth century letter. *Neophilologus* 56:18-30.
--. 1972b. The hispanization of a creole language: Papiamentu. *Hispania* 55:857-864.

LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD/Materials

A new forum for grammatical sketches and language documentations

Already published (Set I):
01 **Ge'ez** (Classical Ethiopic) St. Weninger 50pp.
03 **Mbalanhu** (Wambo, Namibia) D. Fourie, 46pp.
06 **Cantonese** S.-Y. Killingley, 50pp.
11 **Gunin/Kwini** (non-Pama-Nyungan) W. McGregor, 64pp.

(Set II):
02 **Kwamera** (Polynesian) L. Lindstrom & J. Lynch, 48pp.
31 **Saliba** (Western Oceanic) U. Mosel 48pp.
69 **Basilicatese** R. Bigalke, 60pp.
83 **Papiamentu** S. Kouwenberg & E. Murray, 58pp
89 **Warrwa** (non-Pama-Nyungan) W. McGregor, 64pp

Forthcoming titles include:
04 **Natchez** (J. Ingle)
05 **Ukrainian** A. Danylenko & S. Vakulenko, Publ. date: OCT 94
07 **Coptic** (R. Schulz)
08 **Laz** (Kartvelian) U.J. Lüders
10 **Koiari** T.E. Dutton
12 **Ewen** (Tungusic) A.L. Malchukov Publ. date: DEC 94
16 **Old Egyptian** (R. Schulz)
17 **Sango** H. Pasch
18 **Sanskrit** D. Killingley & S.-Y. Killingley Publ. date: DEC 94
19 **Ixtenco Otomí** (Otomanguean) Y. Lastra
20 **Māori** R. Harlow
21 **Chadian Arabic** S. Abu-Absi Publ. date: Winter 94/95
22 **(Modern Eastern) Armenian** N.A. Kozintseva
24 **Nenets** (Uralic) M. Ljublinskaja Dmitrijevna
25 **Khoekhoe** W. Haacke
28 **Rural Palestinian Arabic** (Abu Shusha dial.) K.N. Shahin Publ. date: Winter 94/95
30 **Northern Sotho** Louis J. Louwrens, Ingeborg M. Kosch & Albert E. Kotzé Publ. date: DEC 94
32 **Canadian French** M. Piccard
33 **Wiyot** K.V. Teeter
34 **Sinhala** J.W. Gair & J. Paolillo
40 **Kambera** (Austronesian) M. Klamer
46 **Shona** K.G. Mkanganwi
47 **Tamanaco** (Carib, extinct) Sp. Gildea & S. Méira
50 **Zulu** S.E. Bosch & G. Poulos
57 **Comorian** (Bantu) M. Lafon
58 **Tokelauan** (Polynesian) R. Hooper
59 **Kunama** M.L. Bender
62 **Belarussian** A.Ja. Suprun & U. Doleschal
63 **Maldivian/Divehi** L. Kulikov
64 **Dogon** V. Plungian Publ. date: Winter 94/95
65 **Corse** M. Giacomo-Marcellesi
66 **Bulgare** J. Feuillet Publ. date: DEC 94
67 **Catalán** Joan Busquets i Rigat
68 **Sumerian** John L. Hayes
70 **Gallego** J.A. Pérez Bouza
71 **Pima Bajo** (Uto-Aztecan) Z. Estrada Fernández
73 **Kalderaš (Romani)** L.N. Tcherenkov & M.F. Heinschink Publ. date: Winter 94/95
74 **Abruzzese** (Italian) R. Bigalke
76 **Campano** (Italian) R. Bigalke
77 **Lhasa Tibetan** S. DeLancey
78 **Ladin dla Val Badia** Lois Craffonara
79 **Souletin** (Basque dial.) U.J. Lüders
80 **Creolese** (Guyanese Creole) Hubert Devonish
81 **Akkadian** Sh. Izre'el
82 **Canaatite-Akkadian** Sh. Izre'el
84 **Berbice Dutch Creole** S. Kouwenberg
85 **Rabaul Creole German** (Papua New Guinea) C. Volker
86 **Nalik** (Austronesian) C. Volker
87 **Mozarabe** S. Maspoch-Bueno
88 **Nyulnyul** (non-Pama-Nyungan) W. McGregor
91 **Makunduchi** (Swahili-dial.) R. Kriegler & T. Güldemann
92 **Icari** (Dargwa) N.R. Sumbatova & R.O. Mutalov
93 **Daur** (Mongolic) Chaolu Wu (Üjiyedin Chuluu)
94 **Namakir** (Polynesian) W.B. Sperlich (Niue)
95 **Niuean** (Polynesian) W.B. Sperlich (Niue)
100 **Bare** (Arawak, extinct) Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald
101 **Acadian French** D. Jory & V. Motapanyane
102 **Polabian** (Slavic) W. Suprun & U. Doleschal
103 **Athpare** (Kiranti) K. Ebert et al.
104 **Kodava** (Dravidian) K. Ebert et al.
105 **Rómanes** (Sinti) Daniel Holzinger
106 **Sepečides** (Romani) P. Cech & M.F. Heinschink
107 **Roman** (Romani) D.W. Halwachs et. al.
108 **Lachian** (Slavic) K. Hannan
109 **Karachay** (Turkic) St. Seegmiller

Prices: 46-52 pp: US$11.50, DM 19.20, £7.50; 54-60pp: US$ 12.00/12.50, DM 20.80/22.80, £8.00/9.00; 62-66pp: US$ 13.50, DM 23.80, £9.50.

LINCOM EUROPA

PLANNING, PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF LINGUISTIC PUBLICATIONS AND SOFTWARE.

The Languages of the "First Nations". Comparison from an Ethnolinguistic Perspective. Stefan Liedtke. *LINCOM Handbooks in Linguistics 01*. C. 170pp. US$ 23.00/DM 38. Publ. date: DEC 1994.

Respekt: Die Grammatikalisierung von Höflichkeit. M. Haase. *Edition Linguistik* 03. 116 S. US$ 18.50/DM 28.50.

The Souletin Verbal Complex. New Approaches to Basque Morphophonology. Ulrich J. Lüders. *Linguistics Edition* N° 2. 1994. Pb. 175 pp. US$ 29/DM 48.

Unificação e diversificação na lingüística: pesquisa documental de produção brasileira contemporânea. (A comprehensive analysis of the linguistic production in Brazil during the period 1968-1988). M.C. Fernandes Salles Altman. *Linguistics Edition* N° 4. Pb. Ca. 210pp. Ca. US$ 24/DM 42. Publ. date: DEC 1994.

Caucasian Perspectives. G. Hewitt (ed.). 1992. 406pp. US$ 47/DM 72. (Papers of the Vth Colloquium of the Societas Caucasologica Europaea, 1990, London).

Movierung im Deutschen. Eine Studie zur Bildung und Verwendung weiblicher Personenbezeichnungen. U. Doleschal. 1992. *Edition Linguistik.* 85pp. US$ 16.50/DM 26.50.

The Lexical Tonology of Kinande. Ngessimo M. Mutaka. *LINCOM Studies in African Linguistics* N° 1. F. Katamba, ed. ca. 240pp, ca. US$ 28/DM 47. Publ. date: NOV 1994.

Functional Categories and the Syntax of Focus in Tuki. Edmond Biloa. *LINCOM Studies in African Linguistics* N° 2. F. Katamba, ed. ca. 240pp, ca. US$ 28/DM 47/£17.95. Publ. date: DEC 1994.

Le système verbal dans les langues oubanguiennes. Raymond Boyd (ed.). *LINCOM Studies in African Linguistics* N° 7. Ca. 200pp. In prep.

Minhe Monguor Dictionary. K. Stuart. *LW/M-Dictionaries* 01. Publ. date 1995.

Saliba Dictionary. U. Mosel & R. Nadile. *LW/M-Dictionaries* 02. Publ. date: 1995.

Russian-English Dictionary of Lexical Parallels. V. Dubichinsky, ed. Ca. 250pp. Ca. US$ 56/DM 84. In prep.

Thoughts on Grammaticalization. Christian Lehmann. *LINCOM Studies in Theoretical Linguistics* 01. Ca. 120pp. Ca. US$ 17.50/DM 28/£11.20. Publ. date: DEC 1994.

The Yoruba Koine - its History and Linguistic Innovations. J. Gbenga Fagborun. *Linguistics Edition* N° 06. 186pp + xiii. US$ 22/DM37/£15.

A Short Textbook on Pidgins and Creoles. Alan S. Kaye. *Linguistics Edition* 07. In prep.

Gramática muisca. Angel López García. *LINCOM Studies in Native American Linguistics* 01. Ca. 120pp, Ca. US$ 25.00. Publication date: DEC 1994.

The Nilo-Saharan Languages. M. Lionel Bender. *LINCOM Handbooks in Linguistics* 06. Ca. 300 pp. Ca. US$ 52/DM 78. Publ. date: 1995.

Back from the brink: a study of how relic forms in languages serve as source material for analogical extension. Laura A. Janda. *LINCOM Studies in Slavic Linguistics* 01. Ca. 240pp. Ca. US$ 42/DM 68. Publ. date: Spring 1995.

The Phonology and Morphology of Qatari Arabic. L. Al-Sulaiti. *LINCOM Studies in Afroasiatic Linguistics* 01. Ca. 240pp. Ca. US$ 38.00/DM 58.00. Publ. date: 1995.

A Grammar of Hunzib. Helma van den Berg. *LINCOM Studies in Caucasian Linguistics* 02. Ca. 400pp. Ca. US$ 52.00/DM 78.00. Publ. date: March 1995.

Sango. The National Official Language of the Central African Republic. Proceedings of the Colloquium "The Status and Uses of Sango in the Central African Republic". With a preface by B. Heine. *Linguistics Edition* 05. ca. 130 pp. US$ 20/DM 34/£14. In prep.

Penutian Cognate Sets. Stefan Liedtke. *Linguistic Data on Diskette Service* 04. MS-DOS/Word. US$ 7.00/DM 10.00.

Zuni Lexical Studies. Stefan Liedtke. *Linguistic Data on Diskette Service* 06. MS-DOS. Word. US$ 7/DM 10.

Na-Dene and Other Language Groups. Stefan Liedtke. *Linguistic Data on Diskette Service* 08. US$ 5/DM 8.

Wakashan, Salishan and Penutian: Cognate Sets. Stefan Liedtke. *Linguistic Data on Diskette Service* 09. US$ 12/DM 20.

Möglichkeiten und Mechanismen kontaktbewegten Sprachwandels. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Finnischen. Nicole Nau. *Edition Linguistic* 08. Ca. 150 S. US$ 24.00/DM 38.00. Publ. date: Spring 1995.

Language and Culture in Native North America. Studies in Honor of Heinz-Jürgen Pinnow. Edited by Michael Dürr, Egon Renner and Wolfgang Oleschinski. Ca. 400 pp. Ca. US$ 59.00/DM 88.00. Publ. date: Jan. 1995.